

The Revolution.

PRINCIPLE, NOT POLICY. JUSTICE, NOT FAVORS.—MEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING MORE: WOMEN, THEIR RIGHTS AND NOTHING LESS.

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The Revolution.

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PETITION FOR EQUAL SUFFRAGE.

(Every person receiving a copy of this petition is earnestly desired to put it in immediate and thorough circulation for signatures, and return it signed, to the office of the Woman's Suffrage Association of America, 37 Park Row, Room 20, New York.)

To the Senate and House of Representatives, in Congress Assembled:

The undersigned citizens of the State of — earnestly but respectfully request, that in any change or amendment of the Constitution you may propose, to extend or regulate Suffrage, there shall be no distinction made between men and women.

NAMES.

NAMES.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

NATIONAL SUFFRAGE CONVENTION.

WASHINGTON, January 22d, 1869.

DEAR REVOLUTION: The first National Woman's Suffrage Convention ever held in Washington, closed on Wednesday night. There were representatives from about twenty states, and the deepest interest was manifested through all the sessions, increasing to the end. On the morning of the Convention the business committee assembled in the ante room of Carroll Hall, to discuss resolutions, officers, etc. As Senator Pomeroy was present, it was decided that he should open the meeting and preside as long as his public duties would permit. This gave us an assurance of a healthy repose in the chair, which greatly helps to take off the chill in opening a convention.

After a grave discussion of resolutions, permanent officers, etc., Mr. Pomeroy led the way to the platform, called the meeting to order, and made an able opening speech, taking the broad ground that as Suffrage is a natural, inalienable right, it must, of necessity, belong to every citizen of the republic, black and white, male and female. Mrs. Mott was chosen President, resolutions were reported, and when everything was in fine working order (except the furnace) Mr. Pomeroy slipped off to his senatorial duties, to watch the grand Kansas swindle now on the tapis, and to protect, if possible, the interests of the people.

It is proposed to drive the Indians once more from their lands, divide their rich, beautiful reservation among sharpers, and build innumerable railroads in all directions.

Most of the leading politicians of Kansas are here. As the several projects are on a magnificent scale there is need of a grand army of lobbyists to push them through. Among them are Gen. Blunt and J. S. Kallock, who stumped Kansas in '67 against Woman's Suffrage, but we were comforted to hear that these gentlemen had been converted to the truth, no doubt by their difficulty in finding any good arguments on the other side. As Mr. Kallock is highly

educated and possesses great oratorical power, the friends of Woman's Rights in Kansas may congratulate themselves on this new champion of their cause.

In point of numbers, enthusiasm and ability this Convention has been one of the best we ever attended. The discussion between colored men on the one side and women on the other, as to whether it was the duty of the women of the nation to hold their claims in abeyance, until all colored men are enfranchised, was spicy, able and affecting. When that noble man, Robert Purvis of Philadelphia, rose, and, with the loftiest sense of justice, with a true Roman grandeur, ignored his race and sex, rebuked his own son for his narrow position, and demanded for his daughter all he asked for his son or himself, he thrilled the noblest feelings in his audience, and every true woman must have felt that she would gladly postpone justice for herself to make such a man secure in all his God-given rights.

It has been a great grief to the leading women in our cause that there should be this antagonism with men whom we respect, whose wrongs we pity, and whose hopes we would fain help them to realize. When we contrast the condition of the most fortunate women at the North with the living death colored men endure everywhere, there seems to be a selfishness in our present position. But remember we speak not for ourselves alone, but for all womankind, in poverty, ignorance and hopeless dependence, for the women of this oppressed race too, who, in slavery, have known a depth of misery and degradation that no man can ever appreciate.

One great charm in the Convention was the presence of Lucretia Mott, calm, dignified, clear and forcible as ever. Though she is now seventy-six years old, she sat through all the sessions of the Convention, and noted everything that was said and done. It was a great satisfaction to us all that she was able to preside over the first National Woman's Suffrage Convention ever held at the Capitol. Her voice is still stronger and her step lighter than many who are her juniors by twenty years. She preached last Sunday in the Unitarian church to the profit and pleasure of a highly cultivated and large audience. We were most pleased to meet Ex-Gov. Robinson, the first Gov. of Kansas, in the Convention. He says there is a fair prospect that an amendment to strike out the word "male" from the Constitution will be submitted again in that state, when, he thinks, it will pass without doubt.

Mrs. Miner, President of the Women's Suffrage Association of Missouri, and Mrs. Starrett of Lawrence, Kansas, gave us a pleasant surprise by their appearance at the Convention. They took an active part in the deliberations, and spoke with great effect. Senator Wilson was present, though he did not favor us with a speech. We urged him to do so, but he laughingly said he had no idea of making himself a target for our wit and sarcasm. We asked him, as he would not speak, to tell us the

"wise, systematic and efficient way" of pressing Woman's Suffrage. He replied, "You are on the right track, go ahead." So we have decided to move "on this line" until the inauguration of the new administration, when, under the dynasty of the chivalrous soldier, "our ways will, no doubt, be those of pleasantness and all our paths be peace." New Jersey was represented by Deborah Butler of Vineland, the only live spot in that benighted state, and we thought her speech quite equal to what we heard from Mr. Cattell in the Senate.

During the evening sessions, large numbers of women from the several departments were attentive listeners. Lieut.-Gov. Root (one of the handsomest men who graced our platform) read the bill now before Congress demanding equal pay for women in the several departments where they perform equal work with the men by their side. He offered a resolution urging Congress to pass the bill at once, that justice might be done the hundreds of women in the District, for their faithful work under government. One peculiarity of the Convention was a review and criticism of the opening prayer, by the Rev. Mr. Gray, Chaplain of the Senate. He dwelt somewhat at length on the creation of woman, and seemed to fall in with the common idea that Eve was an afterthought.

Sitting beside our venerable President, trying to maintain a devotional frame of mind, through all clerical heresies, we perceived that in the "Eve passage" she suddenly raised her head, and, in a gentle whisper, said, "I cannot bow to that nonsense." At the close of the prayer Mr. Edward M. Davis, Mrs. Mott's son-in-law, arose, and, with a large Bible in hand, called the attention of the Rev. gentleman to Genesis I. chap. 27th verse: "So God created man in his own image, in the image of God created he him, male and female created he them." This, Mr. Davis thought, clearly proved that Eve was already walking up and down the garden of Paradise, in all her native dignity, before that deep sleep fell upon Adam.

There was one feature in the Convention that we greatly deplored, and that was an impatience, not only with the audience, but with some on the platform whenever any man arose to speak. We must not forget that men have sensibilities as well as women, and that our strongest hold to-day on the public mind is the fact that men of eloquence and power on both continents are pleading for our rights. We well remember years ago, William H. Channing, one of the most gifted men in the nation, prepared a splendid address to deliver at one of our conventions at Albany, but before he had read the fourth part of it, the audience hissed him down and called for some woman. He was obliged to retire, and if we mistake not he has never spoken on a woman's platform since that day. While we ask justice for ourselves, let us at least be just to the noble men who advocate our cause. It is certainly generous in them to come to our platforms, to help us maintain our rights, and share the ridicule that attends every step of progress, and it is clearly our duty to defend their rights, at least when speaking in our behalf.

Yesterday we visited the Supreme Court, the House, the Senate, Vinnie Ream, the Peace Convention, but we have neither time nor space to tell all we saw and heard.

We had a brief interview with Senator Roscoe Conkling. We gave him a petition signed by four hundred ladies of Onondaga county, and urged him to make some wise remarks on

the subject of Woman's Suffrage when he presented it. We find all the New York women are sending their petitions to Senator Pomeroy. He seems to be immensely popular just now. We think our own Senators need some education in this direction. It would be well for the petitions of the several states to be placed in the hands of their respective Senators, that thus the attention of all of them might be called to this important subject.

It is plain to see that Mr. Conkling is revolving this whole question in his mind. His greatest fear is that coarse and ignorant women would crowd the polls and keep the better class away. As this is an opinion entertained by many, the difficulty could be obviated, by beginning the experiment, with a property or educational qualification just as we have done with male voters in most of the states, and as England is doing to-day, though we think we could manage the degraded of our sex as well as men do the degraded of their sex. One thing; we should shut up all the dram shops a few days before election and get the women in their normal condition. We found the little sculptor, Vinnie Ream, reinstated in her new studio in the Capitol, as sweet and beautiful as ever. Ah! said we, in meeting her, what wicked man was that, who, in a St. Louis letter, ranked me with the women who have persecuted you? No Californian ever rejoiced more over a new mine of gold than I do over every dawning of genius in a woman. "Yes," she replied, "that letter, as far as it had reference to you, was absolutely false." We cannot understand how any one who has watched the patient labors of that young girl on her model of Lincoln, felt the charm of her studio, the power of her bewitching manners, or gazed into her peerless eyes, could ever have any other feeling but love and admiration.

A bright, black-eyed girl has just this moment rushed into our apartment, full of excitement, to say that Senator Conkling presented the petition this morning we gave him yesterday and made a short speech, but she fears on the wrong side of the question. Now, we must arm and equip Senator Morgan with a petition and see how he stands, though as he soon gives place to Gov. Fenton, who, we believe, is right, his convictions are of little consequence to the women of New York. E. C. S.

A BRILLIANT PHILOSOPHER.

THE writer of an editorial in the San Francisco Times on Woman's Wrongs, is surely the most glorious philosopher and logician of the age. Hear him:

The fact is, whatever of justice and right there may be in some of the propositions of the female reformers, they have been generally put forward with so little discretion, and indorsed by such questionable supporters, that the public have naturally evaded them, or given them the cold shoulder.

What a comfort to know the exact meaning of "questionable supporter!" Mrs. Stanton is a "questionable supporter;" Lucretia Mott is a "questionable supporter;" Miss Anthony is a "questionable supporter." So are Anna E. Dickinson, Julia Ward Howe, Mrs. Dall, Miss Becker, Miss Cobbe, and a host of others—the noblest, moral, philosophical and intellectual women in this country and Europe. G. W. Curtis, too—as pure, far-seeing, and philanthropic a man as ever existed. It's not such a bad thing, after all, to be classed among "questionable supporters!"

Our logician shows himself to be a profound historian, too:

If these reformers would confine themselves to an endeavor to redress woman's grievances; if they would drop all this blatant nonsense about woman's rights, and would confine themselves to showing wherein she is wronged, they would render their work more hopeful, and would do a real service to their proteges.

That's it. According to his view, all Revolutions, in every age, were instituted only to redress human wrongs, not to emphasize and establish human rights. Vindictiveness, not progressive principle! Our war for *Independence* exemplifies his idea, don't it? What a pity it is that we didn't confine ourselves to the task of showing England "wherein we were wronged," and let our rights as a nation go to—the devil!

It is a noticeable fact in history that Poland has, for ages, been parading her wrongs before the world, making but little insistence upon her rights. The consequence is that she gets some sympathy and no justice. Our philosopher wants all womankind to be individual Polands.

He says further: "Woman's true ground is persuasion; if she leaves that and affects to place herself on the level occupied by man (our philosopher, for instance), she must expect no gallantry, no concession to her sex. Her chief defence is her weakness and her womanhood!" For six thousand years woman has been testing the efficiency of this defence—has tried persuasion. Glorious shields have weakness, womanhood and persuasion proved! Our philosopher will perhaps tell us how far they have been successful in righting our wrongs. He plunges into a long rigmarole, putting in the mouth of woman, as a conclusive argument for her use, the very tale of wrong which has already been fruitlessly told in every imaginable way, and concludes by proclaiming that "woman is not a lesser man (thank Heaven, if he's a specimen of the sex!), but a different creature altogether, mentally (weak, you know—can't understand logic nor appreciate philosophy,) as well as physically," and by making some well-worn admissions regarding our wrongs.

Philosopher! understand, once for all, that our wrongs can never be redressed until we possess rights that will help us to redress ourselves. For long have we leaned upon the frail reeds of man's gallantry and sense of justice. We demand our rights, and when once obtained, our wrongs will quickly disappear under the genial reign of Truth, Justice and Morality.

N. MacKay.

A CHAPTER ON WOMEN.

BY MRS. "PAT MOLLOY."

A GREAT deal has been said and written about women, their capabilities to marry, to teach, to vote, to write or become successful in business, etc. Numberless pages of foolscap have been wasted by men who have been powerfully moved on the agitating questions of woman's sphere, woman suffrage, and what should be done with woman anyway; men of intellect so inferior that they fear women will rise like full moons on the literary horizon, and utterly obscure little stars like themselves. I have read page after page of this stuff, and yet never had my mind satisfied on many questions; so be patient, dear REVOLUTION, and let us enquire into this matter. I have lately read of a work in which a specimen of the aforementioned kind attempts to show, and actually does seem to prove to his own satisfaction, that women never get beyond

this world, that, as nothing conclusive can be found in the Bible in regard to their future state, there evidently is no use for them beyond the baking, brewing, scrubbing and mending in this world. Now, wouldn't such a heaven as men of this stripe would make be a desirable portion? True, there is nothing special mentioned in regard to woman's salvation, more than once I think (1st Timothy ii: 15). But the argument reminds me of a story an old Universalist preacher used to relate: "At a 'class-meeting' a Universalist brother was called upon to relate his 'experience.' He arose and stated that he had a dream not long ago, which had strangely impressed him, and he had been revolving in his mind whether it would be out of place to relate it here. The good old class-leader, probably imagining that he was going to relate some powerful awakening of conscience," replied, "go on, brother." "Well, I dreamed," he resumed, "that I died and went to heaven; I saw the King seated on his white throne; I beheld the gates of pearl and the walls of jasper, and the streets of gold. The glory and grandeur words would fail to describe. Seated nearest the throne were the Methodists"—"Bless the Lord," responds the pious brother—"and next the Baptists, and lastly the Presbyterians." "But no Universalists!" eagerly exclaimed the excited leader. "Well, away off down in a beautiful meadow, where the rivulets were, gushing, the birds singing, and the softest music melting upon the ear, there were the Universalists dancing and seeming to enjoy themselves hugely. I turned and asked the King how it came that he kept these Orthodox Christians down here by the throne, singing psalms and praying all the time, and let the Universalists be over there enjoying themselves. "Oh!" he replied, "the Universalists I am not afraid to trust out of sight, but these Orthodox brethren, I have to keep my eye on them to keep them straight."

This is precisely the case with the women. Divine writers knew that women were naturally so good that they did not need any extra promises or threats to coax or drive them into heaven, and if the author of that work ever gets within ten thousand million miles of heaven, he will find plenty more women than men inside the pearly gates.

Another writer says:

Boys are twenty times as interesting as girls; for in their hands, strange as it may seem, rests the greatness of the coming time, the heroic action. The great deeds of the next generation will be their work; to them we shall owe the discoveries, the inventions which will yet astonish the world, while nineteen out of twenty of the girls will do nothing throughout life but look pretty until they are twenty-five or thirty, and keep on looking uglier and uglier afterwards.

This is the sort of trash girls are educated on. Our newspapers and nearly all our magazine literature are made up of this doctrine. From our cradles we are taught that we are made to "look pretty" until we are married, and after that important event, in order to be genteel, we must be as helpless as possible. What encouragement do we receive in the cultivation of our intellectual faculties? If a woman tries self-support instead of sitting with folded hands, and letting father toil away the best years of his life to support her, while she fritters away her precious womanhood over ribbons, laces and tawdry dresses, sighing—

Uselessly, aimlessly drifting through life,
What was I born for? "For somebody's wife"
I am told by my mother. * * *
But this is the question that puzzles my mind,
Why am I not trained to work of some kind?

Uselessly, aimlessly drifting through life,
Why should I wait to be Somebody's wife?

If, I say, woman awakened to a sense of her real value, attempts to assert her womanhood, and become something besides a doll, does not the whole world of mankind begin to prate about "strong-minded women," and begin to abuse her for stepping out of her "sphere?"

When a woman of brains has become, by close application and study, a thousand times more capable of successful practice than nine-tenths of the quacks who flood the country with their poisonous nostrums, why should the cry of the multitude be "Don't employ a woman physician. She is out of her 'sphere!'" Has not a woman as much right to make her sphere as a man? Wouldn't it be quite as sensible to say all men must be laborers or mechanics as it is to pass the edict that all women must be housekeepers? True, there are women fitted for this work alone, but they find their sphere without being forced into it. There are the home mothers, God bless their patient, loving hearts, who are peculiarly adapted to their vocation, and desire no other, but if God has created a woman with taste and brains for literature, art or science, then why, in the name of heaven, should she hide her talents in a napkin?

Another class say, "Women do not want to vote." How do you know? Suppose the case reversed, and we should say, "It can't do you any good to vote, and you don't want to," how quickly some stubborn man would say, "Well, I'd like to try it!" Now this is just what we would like to do—"try it!" If women do not want to vote, then what is all this commotion about? Why do the men waste so much ammunition on the case, pray tell? If we don't want to vote, there is no use in being scared, gentlemen!

"But," says another, "they would vote just as their father's did or their male friends." Now, my little man, how do you vote? The same ticket as your father did, I'll be bound; for early prejudices do much toward our habits in after life. Would it not be quite as reasonable to say, Women must not join any church, because they would join the one to which their parents belonged. "Pat" here suggests that women would not sell their votes as cheaply as men, one in our neighborhood having sold his for a load of pumpkins and twenty-five cents. Talk about women voting intelligently after that! I've many more questions burthening my mind, but this article is already too long. Will some intelligent man answer these points? I pause for a reply!

A CORRECTION.

THE pastor of the Lutheran church in Dakota, Neb., sends the following correction:

IN THE REVOLUTION of January 1th, 1869, appeared a report of a Woman's Suffrage Association in Dakota, Nebraska, which does the Lutheran church, of which I am pastor, great unintentional injustice. The report states that the deacons remonstrated with me for my connection with said association. The deacons, however, never said anything to me on the subject, except one who has been during all his life one of the strongest advocates of the cause. Some of the elders objected to it, but no one in connection with the church endeavored to "padlock" my lips. So far as I am informed, the great body of the church (though many differ from me in opinion) sympathize and co-operate with me in the great reform movements of the age. I also dissent from the remark that the church is ever the foe of reform. Portions of it at times, have been, but never the whole church.

PASTOR

WHAT THE PEOPLE SAY TO US.

GOOD FOR THE COLORED MEN.

WASHINGTON, D. C., 1869.

MISS SUSAN B. ANTHONY: The convention endorsed, by a large majority, Womanhood Suffrage this morning, and admitted Miss Harriet C. Johnson, principal of the female department of Avery College, Pennsylvania, to a seat. She was afterwards elected a vice-president. The principal opposition came from the southern members. Miss Johnson is the chairman of the Alleghany County, Pa., Delegation. Bishop Campbell, a worthy clergyman of the Methodist Church, was opposed to her admission, but hearing the eloquent speeches delivered in her behalf by J. Sella Martin, H. H. Garnett, Dr. Brown, Aaron M. Powell, Robert Purvis, George T. Downing, Frederick Douglass, the President, Col. Hinton, and others, frankly stated that he was converted, and would vote "aye." The vote stood about 118 to 26, as nearly as could be counted. The New York State delegation stood firm, as did also Philadelphia, and Baltimore. The friends of the cause were overjoyed at the result, and much enthusiasm prevails. A delegation will be appointed to the convention next week.

Yours for the cause,

JAMES J. SPELMAN.

NEW YORK, January 14th, 1869.

MISS ANTHONY: I notice in to-day's issue of THE REVOLUTION the following statement in regard to the "Directors (Trustees?) of the Cooper Union": "They were the first in this country to establish schools for educating women in art."

Without wishing to derogate from the deserts of these gentlemen, I desire to make a more truthful statement.

"The New York School of Design for Women" was established in the autumn of 1852, by the following group of women: Mrs. Geo. Curtis, Miss Mary M. Hamilton, Mrs. Jonathan Sturges, Miss Hosack, and Miss Emma Stebbins (the sculptor), who were the managers, and were assisted by a group of gentlemen who composed the Advisory Board. The school was opened at 486 Broadway, corner of Broome—two small rooms only being occupied.

Here were given the first lessons in drawing outlines, from the cast, from objects—designs for wall paper, calico prints, oil cloths—illumination—china painting—wood engraving, lithography, etc. So also, the first lectures on art were here given.

The school opened with one pupil. It remained at this place till the rooms were crowded, and larger accommodations required. In May, 1855, the school was removed to 487 Broadway—the entrance being in Broome street. There, one large room, with a number of north windows, delighted the pupils. The same studies were continued, and the advanced pupils had made such progress, that many orders for work were received. The school remained here till May, 1858. During the latter part of its stay here, arrangements were made with Peter Cooper, who was then erecting the building bearing his name, to give rooms in the building for the use of the school, and incorporate its aims and plans with the Art department of the Cooper Union. The building was nearly completed in the spring of 1858—and temporary accommodations, consisting of three small rooms, were taken in the Bible House. Various delays, however, detained the school in its small quarters till May, 1859, when it was introduced into a series of arcade rooms on the east side of the building. The different arcades were fitted up for the various departments of art—and the number of pupils in time came to be counted by hundreds—and the gallery over the reading-room, one long hall, and a large vestibule, have been added to its accommodation.

Until the time of the absorption by the Cooper Union of the school, the ladies who founded it, watched over it with untiring interest, and were assiduous in their efforts to sustain it—for although a small tuition fee was required, and a per centage on work done by the pupils, only a small income was derived from these sources.

These ladies, on the adoption of the school by the Trustees of the Cooper Union, became advisory, and still continued to visit the school with warm interest. In time other ladies were added to the board. The name "School of Design for Women," gave place to "Female School of Art," and other changes have been made. So if I take away any praise from the Trustees of the Cooper Union, I but place it to the credit of the high-souled, noble, earnest women, who founded the "New York School of Design for Women."

The Philadelphia School of Design was established some years previous to the New York School. So also was the School in Boston. At present, I have not the dates of the opening of these schools, but am cognizant of facts. One in Baltimore was established afterward,

A pupil of the New York School was solicited as teacher of wood engraving.

I have been compelled to omit all minutia of management, incidents in its history, and records of its teachers, which would be interesting in their recital, but would make too long an article for your paper.

A PIONEER PUPIL.

THORNDIKE, Mass., Jan. 11th, 1869.

MY DEAR MISS ANTHONY: Thanks for your cordial endorsement of my estimate of Frances Wright and Mary Wollstonecraft. I feel a personal pride in any of my own sex who who are brave, noble, heroic, in their lives; as I feel also a personal shame and indignation when I find so many of them glorying in their self-imposed weakness and incapacity. In following the workings of the present vigorous movement in behalf of Woman's Suffrage, which THE REVOLUTION, or rather those who first made it revolve, inaugurated; I glory more than ever in the fact of my own womanhood. In the acknowledged position you have won as leaders of this new Revolution, yourself and Mrs. Stanton hold in your hands a heavy responsibility. May you use it to educate the women of America into a sense of what the ballot means to them. In spite of the jeers, jibes, and innuendoes of the male press, it still constantly quotes you, and to you it looks as to the real representatives of that mythic personage a "strong-minded woman." May the day be hastened when every woman's mind shall be nurtured into the strength of yours—strength to think and to do. All over the land, thousands of women, unknown like myself, find time in the midst of their own private cares and perplexities, to read of your movements and send you an earnest God-speed.

Whatever my pen may be permitted to do for our cause, it shall do gladly, willingly, and truly. It is all I have to offer.

Sincerely yours,

S. A. U.

CHELSEA, Mass.

DEAR REVOLUTION: Will a word from this appendage of the "Hub" be welcomed to your columns? 1869 was ushered in by a roystering old storm. Snow is everywhere—snow on the sidewalks—snow in the streets—snow on the house-tops, but still the "Hub" moves on with its wonted regularity. Anna Dickinson lectured at Music Hall on the last evening of the old year, and just as splendidly as ever.

Fulton still devotes the morning services at Tremont Temple to the interpretation and explanation of the revelations of the Bible as regards woman, and the Woman Question. His sermons are but a series of self-contradictions, inconsistencies, and absurdities. At one time he declares that Christ was a man, and for that reason claims superiority for the masculines. At another time he asserts that Christ was a commingling of the virtues and excellencies of both sexes. Two great half-thoughts wrought into one, he expresses it.

All the efforts of Fulton and others in this direction will be futile. "Onward, right onward," will ever move the car of progress. And while the past shall drown every wrong, the future shall establish every right.

A. C. C.

A WORD OF CHEER FROM DR. SNODGRASS.

184 EAST BROADWAY, Jan. 17th, 1869.

ESTEEMED FRIEND: For long years—for long, indeed, have seemed some of the years of the past to the restive reformer—you and I have been in sympathy as to the cause of personal equality before the laws of our nation and our nation, alike. The reproach which you have so heroically borne, not only for the perilous as well as the persecuted cause of the slave, but the (once) not less unpopular cause of woman, has greatly endeared your very name to me in common with other lovers of the right.

I have felt very thankful to you for the copies of THE REVOLUTION you have sent to me on the condition that after reading them myself I should send them to such of my friends as might be willing to receive light on the great question of Non-sexual Franchise and the claims of woman to equal participation with man in the great social family. This condition I frankly confess I have only partially complied with, because I have become so enormously interested in the contents of THE REVOLUTION, some weeks, that it seems like turning some particular friend out of my house at the very moment when his companionship was a necessity to my nature!

I can't stand to that bargain any longer and I won't! I want to be put on your paying list (I trust it is a well-paying one), so that, while I may voluntarily give some distant friend a chance to share the truths put forth so vigorously and tellingly by Mrs. Stanton, Mr. Pillsbury, and yourself, to say nothing of your contributors, I

shall not feel compelled to do it. The subscription you will find enclosed.

I wish to add that, while I do not like the seemingly envious not to say spiteful, and reaction-inviting temper in which Mrs. Stanton sometimes alludes to the enfranchisement of the negro man, when putting forth her sturdy blows at the disfranchisement of the white woman, for reasons which I may ask the liberty to state hereafter, in the spirit of frankness and good will (may I do it?), at the same time it is not my wish to be counted in with such of your correspondents—good men and true, though they be—who are troubled with the foreboding that the still despised and depressed colored man will be any the less likely to get his political rights because THE REVOLUTION asks the same for his mother, his sister, his wife, or his daughter.

Yours, most cordially,

J. E. SNODGRASS.

WOMAN, WHY WEEPEST THOU?

Editors of the Revolution:

My best thanks are due to your agent and pioneer lecturer, Mrs. Fisher, for having brought me into nearer acquaintance with your movement and the excellent journal you publish. The lecture by Mrs. F. was so earnestly, tenderly and convincingly delivered, as to make me hope many more, like myself, have become her willing captives and subscribers. I calculate my copies among our best-headed women, and have also obtained promise from the senior editor of our local paper to give the subject his earliest attention, inclusive of notice of the petition to Congress.

As for myself, I am perfectly delighted with each of the numbers of THE REVOLUTION, as they successively arrive. I look on your paper as a most fitting and timely commentary on the text I placed at the head of these lines: "Woman, why weepst thou?"

Woman, in the Bible, is emblematic of the Church. Whatever is weak in the world is opposed and oppressed by unrighteous force. The Church, the aggregate of the good and upright, has, and for a long to come will have, to struggle for her rights, just as woman, with all her loveliness and charms, has to fight against pretended law for hers. None can help either but a saviour risen from a grave into which legalized tyranny had precipitated him, supposing he was buried for good. But he wasn't. He is risen again. For it was not possible he should be holden of it. And so, under the light of the Gospel, reason being subject to conscience, and mercy triumphing over justice, nothing intrinsically true, no principle come down from Heaven can remain everlastingly buried, no matter how many centuries have shovelled dust over it. The greater the claim the higher the rank of the dignity beneath, and should the seed of life under it even be choked so nigh to death as not to have vitality left to pierce the oppressive covering, humanity and christianity, alike, will lend their powerful hands to remove the impending pressure and speed on the tardy resurrection.

I remember, in the crowded market in Napa Loochoo—our humble Patmos, that, under divine favor, has since proved the effectual door to the whole of Japan—while reading to some women behind their stalls the history of the Saviour's resurrection, the excitement produced by the following remark, "The first word," I said, "that Jesus uttered when rising from the grave, was 'WOMAN' (as if she had been his last thought in the dying struggle), and the sentence immediately following that dear name, was an utterance of sympathy addressed to the greatest of all human sufferers: 'why weepst thou?' Jesus"—I continued—"came to right all wrong, to wipe away tears from all faces, and finding woman wronged and in tears all over the world, he addressed unto her, as the embodiment of all pain and woe, this consoling question, while just in the midst of triumph over the greatest oppressor of the race, death: 'Woman, why weepst thou now? now, that death and all evil are overcome by the Regenerator of mankind?' There were reasons enough for woman to weep. Our mothers of old had to suffer just as you, my Japanese sisters, have to suffer now. I know your afflictions, the slavish labors you have to perform, the putrid masses you have to cleanse off the bones of your dead, the degradation you suffer in your homes, the little thanks and worse you get for all your favors and services to man. I know it all, and mourn over it all. But the risen Jesus now asks each of you: 'Woman, why weepst thou? I also was oppressed, they killed me and buried me, but behold I am alive, for God is in me and with me, and whosoever believes in me shall rise with me.' You, Japanese women, shall rise with Jesus. I tell you, your rights and human claims, though long choked under the heel of the stronger sex, will yet be found alive and prove victorious, just as they

have in our countries. The new faith, the Gospel of Christ, brought light and liberty both to you, men and women. The men saw their error, the strong used their arms not to push down but to lift up the weaker ones, and so it came to pass that our women are now respected as much as men are, and if anything our wives have control over domestic matters more than the husbands."

With this harangue, I rested my case, looking tenderly towards my dear female helpmate, always my companion in my Sunday labors. My look naturally serving as guide to the eyes of the whole assembly, I trembled lest Mrs. B., remembering, perhaps, some peccadillo of mine, or of other Christian husbands towards their select-half, might not look altogether as self-evident an affirmative as the occasion required. Fortunately, however, as Mrs. B., for the most part, has reason to be satisfied with me and her lot in general, she, both by gesture and speech, confirmed my statement, and this, naturally enough, had a very good effect on the Loochooan dames, a much better one—I venture to say—than is likely to be produced now-a-days by the eye witness of Chinese and Japanese women in California, should ever factory girls and seamstresses become there as crowded a commodity as they are in Old and New England.

Missionaries in general appeal to Christian women to compare their own favored condition with that of their heathen sisters, and, justly inferring the advantage was due to Christian civilization, urge them, as a matter of humanity, to help spread the Gospel among the heathen. Such appeals, taken superficially, will hold good with Fifth Avenue ladies. But do they indeed appear as self-evident to the majority of American women, say of the laboring classes? In what does their lot in life differ from, or exhibit such undoubted superiority to that of heathen women? The little education they now and then are permitted to get only sharpens their sensitiveness, and makes every suffering the keener. The Gospel, true, makes them more resigned, but what is there in our political institutions giving women power to resist and legally to right their wrongs, to warrant the above broad appeal to Christian women, themselves after eighteen centuries of gospel dispensation scarcely emancipated from many a heathenish, or, at best, Old Testament-Oriental-male prerogative, that has neither reason, moral sense, and much less Gospel tenderness to support them? It is sheer feudalism, unfit to be tolerated as a custom in Christian and free lands.

I consider the editorial skull or skulls conceiving and collecting material for such a many-sided journal as THE REVOLUTION is a sort of missionary box, where whatever is thrown in is sure to be applied to some charitable purpose. And thus I was a mind of going on to the very lowest limits of my foolscap sheet with a remark or two addressed by way of caution to the very noble ladies that originated, and with much manly force sustain, the whole of this movement. But—fortunately, no doubt, for the already tedious length of my article—a man at my elbow reminds me I am a homeopath, and am wanted to dispense a few globules to a lady with a sick headache. Pardon my present allopathic paper dose. I promise you in future to use only note paper of the most approved short-hand size.

Respectfully yours,

B. J. BETTELHEIM.

Brookfield, Mo., Jan. 14.

NEW YORK, Jan. 21, 1869.

Editors of the Revolution:

LET any rail against woman's mission who will. If it does not show that it has got admirably to work when such articles as those on the rag-pickers appear in your paper, then I am mistaken.

H.

ABOUT PETITIONS.

ROCHESTER, N. Y., Jan. 13, 1869.

MRS. E. C. STANTON—Dear Madam: I hope the enclosed petition will reach you before you leave to attend the convention at Washington. I wrote the form and had a number of copies struck off a long time since, and it is not in exactly the same form as that afterwards published in THE REVOLUTION. There are some 340 names to the petition. I am sorry we have done no better—it should have been thousands instead of hundreds—more were obtained, but I have failed to get the petitions back again; and I am tired of circulating petitions for our right to the elective franchise; I have done it for the last twenty-one years—petitioned our legislature, and still they say "women do not want to vote." But I have not found one woman in ten who does not wish to vote; at least, they do, after they are made aware of the effect it would produce.

We ought not to be discouraged—the skies are brighter than ever before, and may these "dawnings of beams" soon usher in the glorious day.

Truly yours,

EMILY P. COLLINS.

MORENCI, Mich., Jan. 13th, 1839.

Editors of the Revolution:

AFTER reading a few numbers of THE REVOLUTION I concluded to put your suggestion in practice, to go out and find how many were in favor of extending the right of Suffrage to women.

I had no printed petition, but took a piece of paper and pencil and started out, expecting to meet with opposition in almost every direction. But not so; instead of sneers, jeers, and a cold shoulder, I met with pleasant smiles and kind words of encouragement; so I travelled from house to house, from shop to shop, and in four short December afternoons I have been able to run up a list of names numbering 230 of our best and most enterprising men and women, meeting with opposition only from the unthinking and unprogressive class. But I do not consider the list of names the greatest good resulting from my efforts. It is one of the very best methods that can be taken to agitate the question.

Having labored for many years in all preceding reforms, I will endeavor to not be found wanting at my post in the great struggle now going on for the emancipation of women.

Your friend in every good work,

M. E. A.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Jan. 18, 1869.

DEAR MISS ANTHONY: I send you by this mail a petition for Equal Suffrage, signed by one hundred and eighty-five names. With the exception of forty, I have obtained them myself, by going from house to house. It is a slow process, as so few have heard anything of the movement, and the whole thing has to be explained to each person. If I had time, I could have obtained any number of names, for not ten women of all I have asked have refused to put their names to the petition.

In a week or two I shall send subscriptions for REVOLUTION. Can they be obtained from the beginning of the year?

Yours sincerely,

H. P. J.

MOUNT PLEASANT, IOWA, Jan. 12, 1869.

DEAR MISS ANTHONY: Here is the petition I wrote you about last summer. It contains 480 names; might have been larger could I have canvassed the whole town; but vacation closed before I was through, and school duties pressed it out. It is signed by many of the best men and women of Mount Pleasant, and shows we are up with the times in our way of thinking, out here.

The aged Rev. Charles Elliot, who headed the list with his own hand, and is well known as a veteran worker in the Methodist church, has recently passed to his long home.

I like the later petitions much better than this, but it is impossible for me to do anything with them, having my hands full.

Yours respectfully,

M. M. GRIFFITH.

To the Woman's Suffrage Association, New York City:

SISTERS: I received, through Dr. Anna Manning, of Norwich, a petition for Equal Suffrage, emanating from you.

I have had three dozen copies of the same struck off and have distributed twelve to different ladies, who will obtain signatures and return them to me. I shall furnish any one either in Connecticut, Massachusetts, or Rhode Island, that I can find willing to take such petition and use it, with a copy.

Will you write me when it is necessary for you to call in the petitions, in order to present them to Congress?

Respectfully yours,

Mrs. LITA BARNEY SAYLES, CORN.

Grand. If every friend would do as much, and as well, Senator Pomeroy, Geo. W. Julian, and Congress entire would be kept supplied with petitions to present at the opening of every day's session. Send your petitions as fast as possible, direct to Messrs. Julian or Pomeroy, Washington, D. C.

THE TRUTH IS MARCHING ON.

A YOUNG lawyer, not long ago, while circulating a petition for Woman Suffrage, called upon one of the officers in a bank, and asked him to sign it. He refused, with decision, saying he hadn't thought anything on the subject, and didn't know whether he wanted his wife to vote or not. It was useless to urge him, but he promised to let the lawyer know his decision in a week. A few days afterwards a lecture was delivered in the evening by Julia Crouch on "The Woman Question." The officer of the bank, having the subject on his mind, attended the lecture, and listened very attentively. After it was through he sought out the young lawyer, and said, "You may place my name on that petition, I am convinced."

One more convert to the glorious cause. We are marching on. There are a great many yet, who have not thought upon the subject, who do not know whether they want their wives to vote or not. They are fast waking up, and joining our ranks, and the world will soon be wide awake; but, meanwhile, there is work to be done, and let us do as much as our ability and circumstances will allow.

WORKING WOMAN'S ASSOCIATION.

THE Working Woman's Association held a regular meeting Friday evening, Jan. 23d, at Cooper Institute, Mrs. Charlotte Lozier, in the absence of Miss Anthony, presiding. After some preliminary remarks by the President pro tem., Elizabeth C. Browne, Recording Secretary, read the minutes of the last meeting, which were approved. Hannah M. Shepard, Corresponding Secretary, then read the following correspondence:

NEW YORK, January 19, 1869.

G. F. TRAIN, Esq.—Dear Sir: Your fearless advocacy of the cause of the oppressed, and your intimation through the columns of THE REVOLUTION some months since that on your return to America you would lecture for the cause of women, induces me, on behalf of the Working Woman's Association, to ask if you will lecture for us at such time and place as is convenient to yourself. Very respectfully,

HANNAH MACL. SHEPARD,

Corresponding Secretary Working Woman's Association.

MR. TRAIN'S ANSWER.

138½ MADISON AVENUE, New York, }
January 29, 1869. }

DEAR WORKING WOMAN'S ASSOCIATION—Mrs. Shepard, Corresponding Secretary: My opinions are too pointed, my ideas too strongly defined, my Radicalism too practical, I am afraid, to do any good; I tread on too many corns; I raise too much antagonism; my audiences are too mixed; caste is too severely marked. No theorist, my acts create hisses; hence even your Association will be at loggerheads, I fear, with my views. My reformation is real. There is no sham in my nature. Some time I will lecture, but please ask your committee to excuse me, as my engagements keep me on my feet every night; and besides you have so many theoretical friends that a practical reformer might be unpopular within your ranks, but nevertheless, THE REVOLUTION must go on and work out its destiny.

Sincerely, GEORGE FRANCIS TRAIN.

Mrs. Lozier called for the report of the Lecture Committee appointed at the last meeting. The Chairwoman not being present Mrs. Shepard stated that a correspondence with H. W. Beecher and Stephen Masset was in process, a report of which would be given by Mrs. Tobitt at the next meeting. Mrs. Lozier thought it late in the season to find lectures productive of much success, but she hoped the members of the Association would not be discouraged. They must learn to wait with patience. They had waited many, many ages for this dawn, they could well afford now to be patient for the full coming of the day.

She also spoke with much warmth and earnestness in favor of speedy legal incorporation, and of co-operation. Mr. Hill, from the Mechanic and Tradesman's Co-operative Society, followed Mrs. Lozier with some instructive remarks on the same subject. A letter was then read from Mrs. Frances McKinley, who sent greetings to the Association, and informed them that, though chained by the Fates to a couch of temporary illness, her heart was still with them. She urged them to break the shackles, which, Prometheus-like, bound them to the rock of slavery, and closed with a resolution congratulating Geo. Francis Train on his release from prison. The letter was received and filed, and the resolution it contained was proposed to the meeting and unanimously adopted.

It was then arranged to hold another meeting

of the Executive Committee on Monday next, the 25th, at the Home, 45 Elizabeth street, to make provision for incorporation, after which the meeting adjourned till Wednesday evening, the 27th inst., to meet at Room 24, Cooper Institute.

WHAT WOMEN ARE DOING.

MISS MARY PHELPS of Springfield, Mo., has been, for the past four years, making an effort to found a home and school for orphans and indigent girls. She has succeeded beyond the expectations of the lookers-on and her own. She has purchased fifteen acres of land, in one of the most beautiful and healthy prairies in south-west Missouri, has erected good buildings sufficiently large for the accommodation of one hundred poor, derelict girls, where they can receive an English and domestic education fitting them to earn their livelihood honestly and virtuously. To support this Institution, she invested money in stores and a public hall, the rents being sufficient to clothe and feed the orphans. Recently the stores and hall have been burned, and she is left without resources for the support of the orphans. Miss Phelps asks donations from the benevolent to assist her in her work.

It is pleasant to learn that Miss Alide Topp, the brilliant pianist, has sent home to her aged mother, in the Grand Duchy of Mecklenburg, \$5,000—a part of the profits of her concertizing. Charity with Topp, says a wit of Philadelphia, of course, begins "t' hum."

FEMALE composers set up the San Francisco Californian.

Two thousand women, wives, etc., of the Rajah of Jeypore, lately set upon their guardian, who was keeping them too strictly, and beat him most unmercifully. He barely escaped with his life and a broken arm.

MISS HAZLEWOOD has assumed the management of Sadler's Wells, London, where Miss Marriott, who is to visit this country, has just closed. In a speech delivered on the occasion, Miss Hazlewood observed: "I must ask you to join me in wishing Miss Marriott all the success in the United States which her great talents and untiring industry so well deserve; and, talking of the United States, reminds me of a great question to which Miss Marriott's recent connection with this theatre and my own presence here to-night have an important relation. I mean the great question of Woman's Rights. You are aware that Mr. Mill and other learned men are endeavoring to obtain votes for women. Well, I am going to mention a fact in favor of this proposal; and I will make a present of it as a cogent, original argument to any gallant member of the new Parliament. No less than six of the chief London theatres—and by no means the least successful ones—are now under the management of ladies. Miss Herbert manages the St. James Theatre, Mrs. Alfred Mellon is directress of the Adelphi, Miss Marie Wilton manages the Prince of Wales, Miss Oliver the Royalty, and Miss Hazlewood, Sadler's Wells.

A sister of Gen. Grant, Mrs. Mary Grant Cramer, is the wife of our Consul at Leipzig; she is also an amateur artist, and used to paint in the art galleries. There some of the German artists saw and admired the purely classical features of their unknown colleague, and when they were painting the frescoes in the new art museum of Leipzig, they introduced her head for the Grecian goddess Diana.

RECLAIMING OUTCASTS.—A lady of Glasgow, Scotland, concerned for the outcasts of her sex, finally set to work in their behalf. Meeting one of them in the street, she put her into lodgings, clothed her, taught her, and labored to bring her to a better mind, until the poor outcast gave evidence of a change of life, and then procured her steady employment. This first success encouraged her to extend her labors. At first her efforts were confined to the street girls, who soon flocked to her shelter in greater numbers than she could provide for. Presently a way opened for her to reach a "higher class" of fallen women. As the result of twelve months' labors she and her associates report two hundred and fifty fallen women reclaimed. Only twenty relapsed, and of these several returned in bitter penitence, and are doing well; eighty-five reclaimed girls were restored to their parents; forty engaged as servants; forty-five in miscellaneous employments, and sixty-six still were under care.

ENGLISH CORRESPONDENCE.

MANCHESTER, Dec. 26th, 1868.

Editors of the Revolution :

I SEND you by the Book-post a pamphlet on the "Education and Employment of Women," by Josephine E. Butler. Mrs. Butler is the wife of the Rev. George Butler, Principal of the Liverpool College, whose brother, Dr. Butler, is the head master of the public school at Harrow. Mrs. Butler is an earnest and active promoter of the higher education of women. She has an extensive acquaintance both at Oxford and Cambridge and uses her influence to further this object, as well as in her office as President of the North of England Council. The memorial to the Lyndicale at Cambridge for the new Examinations for Women, which have just been granted, and are to come into operation next year, originated with her. She has established a home for friendless girls in Liverpool and, as a merchant of that city told me, has done a wonderful amount of good since she went to reside there about two years ago. Mrs. Butler is a member of our Executive Committee for Woman's Suffrage and of the Woman's Property Committee also. So graceful and elegant is she withal that it has been said, figuratively, that if Mrs. Butler could be put under a glass shade and sent round England, she would do more to disarm prejudice and advance the cause of Equal Rights than all the powers of the platform united.

I meant to have sent you a review of the pamphlet in this letter, but I find that Professor Masson noticed it in a meeting of the Women's Employment Society in Edinburgh, last week, and I send you a report of his speech instead. I am sure that both Mrs. Butler's pamphlet and Professor Masson's remarks upon it, will commend themselves to you.

Miss Emily Faithfull has this week delivered a lecture at Brighton on the same subject, of which I send you a notice. Mrs. McLaren, the President of the Edinburgh Society for Woman's Suffrage, has just received the enclosed communication from Mr. J. S. Mill, in reply to a letter on the results of the Westminster election.

A few weeks ago I alluded to the Report of the Parliamentary Commission appointed to inquire into the employment of women and girls in agriculture. I now send you some further particulars on the subject. Whatever the merits of the question may be, in different localities, the evidence shows clearly the value of physical development and out-door exercise for women.

Mr. Bazley, M.P. for Manchester, and Mr. Hadfield, M.P. for Sheffield, have just initiated a movement to extend the Penny postage to the United States. It has been warmly taken up. Thousands on this side of the Atlantic are interested in the speedy accomplishment of this fresh bond of Union between our countries ; for, as one of our local papers says, "We are proud of regarding England and the United States as one nation in the loftiest sense of all," and there are, no doubt, thousands on your side who will respond to it.

We are just now enjoying a visit from George Macdonald, LL.D., the author of "David Elginbrod," "Robert Falconer" and other popular novels, and of "Within and Without," "The Disciple," and other "Poems." He is giving some lectures on literary subjects. The first was on the poet Milton. The subject is not new, but as Mr. Macdonald's manner of treating it is

very beautiful and suggestive, I think you will be interested in the following abstract which I have made of it, from notes taken at the lecture which was extempore. It was delivered in an Independent Chapel.

Mr. Macdonald began by observing that it was the first time he had given a lecture of this kind from a pulpit, but he did not consider it in the least degree inappropriate to his subject. He was here to speak of a man, and for what are the highest teachings of the pulpit but to lead us to be true men and true women. "I am here to-night," he continued, "to speak to you of a true man, and so lofty do I feel the subject to be, that I almost hesitate to enter upon it. It would be an easy task to analyze a great work of art in all its details, and all its meanings and suggestions of meanings, for that would be to describe the work of man ; but who shall describe aright the work of God such as this man was, and paint the moral of infinite meaning which his life suggests. And yet, in one sense, John Milton's manhood is not the most difficult to expound, for in his case we have not to go far to find the key to his character, which was the spring of his actions, and the germ of his noble and beautiful development. Here is a man who had an ideal for which he was working all his life. An ideal which he disclosed early in his career, and this furnishes us with the clue we seek and solves for us the grand problem of his life. A man who has an ideal is more easily understood than one who, like a wave of the sea, is tossed hither and thither on the shores of time. In illustrating the life of Milton, I shall chiefly take his poetry. I shall touch a little on his prose writings, and I shall, of necessity, refer to his politics ; but I shall mainly use his poetry for my purpose. It best expresses his character and inner life from which his outward life naturally flowed. Milton was well born. That is to say, he came from a good breed, of a thinking race. His forefathers were honest people. His father had suffered for conscience sake. He had been turned out of his father's house for being a Protestant. To begin with the earliest record of the poet's life, we learn that when quite a little boy, he sat listening in absorbed attention to the tones of his father's organ. We can scarcely surmise the effect of this eager listening on the lad's mind. That there is a marvel in music, deep and wondrous, not the most unmusical of us can doubt or deny. That it had a forming, and training, and modulating effect on Milton's mind I have not the least doubt. Indeed I am confident that in his blank verse, written when he was fifty years of age, we hear again the sound of his father's organ. There is nothing it is so like as the deep, rich tones of the organ in the "resonant fugue" which he so vividly describes. Milton's boyhood was given to study. Do not suppose that he was driven to it. Let us all beware how we drive our children by competition and prizes to study. We may defeat our object and destroy what we desire to nurture by such means. In his school days Milton used to sit up till midnight to read. He wanted to know what others thought and knew. At sixteen he went to Cambridge and stayed there till he was twenty-four. That was giving time to study. Now-a-days we hurry too much with education. We put on too much pressure of examinations and the like. I am very doubtful about the result of all these urgent examinations on the future of our children. It is still an open question whether they are the best measures, or supply the most healthy stim-

ulus for the young student. However, if they kill indifference and stupidity they will do some good, and then, perhaps, we may take a higher standard than they furnish. That my child should have an immense amount of knowledge is not my first aim for him. I care more that he should know how to think and that he should know how to act. These are the chief things. Roger Ascham, in Queen Elizabeth's time, said, he would have a youth under tutors till he was twenty-nine. I do not go as far as that, though he was a wise man that said it. Now, let us look at what this youth, Milton, did at one and twenty. He wrote the "Ode on the Morning of Christ's Nativity," beginning :

"This is the month, and this the happy morn."

Read it for yourselves and judge if you have ever met with anything more wonderful in your studies of youthful genius. To my mind it is more wonderful even than the productions of Keats at that early age. You will find in this Ode a reference to the ideas of Pythagoras that the planets were fixed and solid transparent spheres. It was supposed that there were nine of them, and that as they rolled round the earth they made music by their motion. Milton uses this as a simile to describe the obedience of all to law, to unity, to God. You see he thinks all we want is music, and, in a profound sense, it is true. A whole and perfect truth. Again we have an "Ode on a solemn music," in which he calls on Voice and Verse to wed their divine sounds until they reach the harmony of heaven. You will find another and still better piece of the same date on Time, anticipating the future life, when time shall have consumed all our merely mortal dross :

And joy shall overtake us as a flood,
When everything that is sincerely good
And perfectly divine,
With truth, and peace, and love, shall ever shine
About the supreme throne
Of Him, to whose happy-making sight alone
When once our heavenly-guided soul shall climb,
Then, all this earthly grossness quit,
Attired with stars we shall forever sit,
Triumphing over death, and chance, and thee, oh Time!

Now we come to the lesson of his life, a lesson for all who are entering on life's solemn work ; the key, as I have said before, of Milton's history is contained in this sonnet. I want you to compare it with another sonnet which I shall read presently, written twenty years later, in order to mark the progress made in those years :

ON HIS BEING ARRIVED AT THE AGE OF TWENTY-THREE.

How soon hath Time, the subtle thief of youth,
Stolen on his wing my three-and-twentieth year!
My hasting days fly on with full career,
But my late spring no bud or blossom sheweth.
Perhaps my semblance might deceive the truth,
That I to manhood am arrived so near ;
And inward ripeness doth much less appear,
That some more timely-happy spirits endureth.
Yet be it less or more, or soon or slow,
It shall be still in strictest measure even
To that same lot, however mean or high,
Toward which Time leads me, and the will of Heaven ;
All is, as if I have grace to use it so,
As ever in my great Task-master's eye.

Here is a perception as rare as it is profound of the solemnity of life. I allow that there is a want in this sonnet. The sense of the Fatherhood of God is wanting, but that will come later.

This is a good beginning for a young man three and twenty. When Milton went to college it was with some design of entering the church. It does not appear that at that time he objected to the union of church and state, but he did object very much to the system of church government carried on by Archbishop

Land. Milton saw that he could not carry his conscience with him into the church, that no freedom of thought was possible for him there. He therefore gave up his clerical intentions and went home at the age of twenty-four. His father was willing to do the best for him, to make the most of him. He had a country house at Horton in Buckinghamshire. Here Milton stayed for five years reading classics and mathematics, and studying music and all sorts of things. Soon after going home he wrote "Il Penseroso" and "L'Allegro," the thoughtful man, and the man in lighter mood as the names imply. These are among the best known of his poems. Although they are both written in the same measure the words convey such different ideas that they produce quite a different melody. Milton's ear was absolute in these matters. We never have had such a master of rhythm as he was. "Comus" was his next work. I can say without hesitation that it is more to understand Comus than to master a science. It is a great thing to know the laws of matter, to be a chemist say, but it is a grander thing to understand truth, and to read Comus aright we must do this. I must mention a fine feature in Milton's character which I have come upon in my study of "Comus." This is his perfect self-command, the power of keeping himself quiet when occasion demanded it. In the original manuscript of "Comus" there are fourteen lines crossed out, beautiful lines they are, but Milton saw that his work was more complete without them, so he practised the rare power of reticence. Thus it is with all true artists. They destroy all excrescences remorselessly, when, looking down on their own works from a higher height of genius, they see things in a serener air. This subordination of his powers is characteristic of Milton, and it is perfectly consistent with the idea he started with, to do in all things the best he could, as in the eye of God. At twenty-five he wrote "Lycidas." In this beautiful monody on the loss of his shipwrecked friend, Milton shows his strong feelings towards the clergy of his day, of whom he said:

"The hungry sheep look up and are not fed."

Soon after the death of his mother, when he was thirty years of age, Milton went on his travels, his father generously allowing him means for that purpose. He stayed a short time in Paris, and then proceeded to Italy where he remained a year. Milton tells us that he laid it down as a rule to himself never to begin a conversation on the subject of religion, but if asked a question he replied boldly and fully and gave a reason for his faith. This was perfectly consistent with his views of religious liberty and respect for individual judgment.

While in Italy he met with a lady of whom we know nothing but what we learn from his sonnets. We do not know even her name. In one of these sonnets Milton offers her his heart. He describes to her in a manly and dignified manner the worth of his offer, and ends with saying that into this faithful heart "Love his dart incurable hath sent." The lady did not respond to his advances. We hear no more of her. I can well believe that this incident had more effect on his after life than we can ever know, and that it had an untold influence on his future.

In 1640 the first rebellion broke out, and Milton relinquished his intention of going to Greece, in order to return to his native land and take his part in the struggle for freedom.

At the age of thirty-two he first entered in the work of self-support. He took a house and received pupils. Some of his prose works never appeared. First came his work on "Church Policy." At thirty-five he married. A word about his marriage. He put it off too long, and it was unwise, as he himself says. He married, after one month of acquaintance, a lady of the opposite faction. Mary Powell left the gaieties of her father's house at Fcreshill, in Oxfordshire, for the gloomy abode of her learned husband in Aldergate street. Four or five weeks after her marriage she went home on a visit. She stayed some time, and at last refused to return to her husband. The royal party was just then in the ascendant, and Mr. Powell, who was a man in a good position, and a justice of the peace, may have had some idea of getting the marriage cancelled in accordance with the wishes of his daughter. Milton was much wounded by his wife's conduct. He wrote to her repeatedly and sent a special messenger to plead with her, but with no effect. He then began to contemplate a divorce, and wrote his famous Treatises on that subject. But neither letters, message nor treatises produced any effect on Mrs. Milton. At length, tidings reached her that her husband was paying his addresses to another lady. This brought her to a better mind. She came back and threw herself at his feet. He received her like God, and at a later period received, also, her father and brothers into his house when the royalist cause was lost and they needed such protection.

To continue the history of his writings. When the Presbyterian party came into power, an attempt was made to put restrictions on the press. It was proposed that a committee should be appointed to decide on what should be printed. Milton, whose fight all his life was for liberty, replied to the arguments for this censorship in the famous "Areopagitica," or *Law Pleadings*. We may smile at these controversies now, but we little know how great a debt we owe to Milton for resisting these innovations. In this work we find traces of a certain grum humor which was characteristic of the writer. Laughter, too, is of God. Let us remember this, that we may laugh the more freely and refrain the more rigorously when occasion comes. At forty-one Milton was appointed Secretary of State. At forty-two he wrote his "Iconoclastica," and at forty-four he became blind from excessive study. At forty-five he wrote the other immortal sonnet to which I have referred. It is every way better and deeper than that written at twenty-three. Compare them:

ON HIS BLINDNESS.

When I consider how my light is spent
Ere half my days, in this dark world and wide,
And that one talent which is death to hide,
Lodged with me useless, though my soul more bent
To serve therewith my Maker, and present
My true account, lest he, returning, chide;
"Dost God exact day-labor, light denied?"
I fondly ask: but Patience, to prevent
That murmur, soon replies, "God doth not need
Either man's work, or his own gifts; who best
Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best; his state
Is kingly: thousands at his bidding speed,
And post o'er land and ocean without rest;
They also serve who only stand and wait."

Remark the end, how beautifully he says, "Wait till God says to thee, 'Go' be still." There is as much action in this waiting as there is in doing, for action is of the mind. At forty-five Milton retired from public life. When he was fifty-seven "Paradise Lost" was completed. It was written between his fiftieth and fifty-seventh years. "Paradise Lost" is the

grandest epic ever written. Consider it well and you will see what a perfect sphere it is. It goes into the past, and then on to the future, and forms a complete whole. With the exception of the Earl of Surrey, Milton is the earliest writer of blank verse in the language. He wrote it to perfection, because he was a master of rhyme before he attempted it, and then he wrote with the greatest care. It is a rare faculty this of blank verse; perhaps the only other writers of real blank verse we have are Wordsworth, and Tennyson, and Keats. At sixty-three, "Paradise Regained" and "Samson Agonistes" were finished. The latter is a piece of perfect work after the Greek model. The passage on Samson's blindness is touchingly vivid. Read it and see how Milton felt. Milton lived to the age of sixty-six, and died in peace.

To sum up: the things that made him a great poet were—music, and time and opportunity to act on and develop the poet-soul within him. There were three poets who bore the name of John in that age.

John Bunyan, the gipsy's son, born, not made, a poet. John Dryden, the courtier, made, not born, a poet. John Milton, the republican, both born and made a poet. How he was born a poet, we cannot explain; but there is no doubt that Milton's innate faculty was nourished largely by his father's music in his childhood, and by his father's bounty in his early manhood, in enabling him to travel and add to his store of knowledge and his experience of life. Then came his teaching experiences, then public affairs occupied him. At forty-one he was almost at the helm of the state, just after the storm of civil conflict. After that, as if God had said to him, "Now you have seen life enough," he puts his hand over him and hides all. He enveloped him with a dark canvas, as it were, and bade him cover it with images of light—images wrought within him by the music, the teaching, the experience of the past, and matured in the blackness of darkness.

There is one other point which I must not overlook in Milton's character, for it is the most important of all. Why was it that at Cambridge he was given the nickname of the "Lady of Christ's College?" Was it because of his beauty, was it because of the graces of mind and person which were combined with his stalwart, manly strength? No, it had a deeper meaning. It was because of his virgin purity of soul and life—a purity that he preserved from his childhood upwards. I would that the vital importance of this point were recognized by men as it is by women. I must here say to women, demand more than you do from men in this matter, and you will get more.

Such is my estimate of the character of John Milton, the man, and the poet. As a poet, his writings are the property of all ages and will bear the closest criticism; as a man, I would feign regard him as a typical Englishman. Let us study him as such and each in his measure; let us seek to live as Milton did up to his highest ideal.

Yours truly,

R. M.

MISS JOANNA QUINER, a self-taught sculptor, died in Lynn, September 20th, at the age of seventy-two. When about forty-seven years old, she was visiting at the Boston Athenaeum, and there saw Clevenger modeling in clay. She obtained clay on which to work, and has since modeled many busts.

THE Portland Press says, that it knows that several prominent members of the Maine Legislature are eager to do all that is possible to bring about Woman's Suffrage in that State.

The Revolution.

ELIZABETH CADY STANTON, } Editors.
PARKER PILLSBURY, }

SUSAN B. ANTHONY, Proprietor.

NEW YORK, JANUARY 28, 1869.

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BOIL IT DOWN.—No article over two columns will, hereafter, be admitted in THE REVOLUTION.

S. B. A.

THE WASHINGTON CONVENTION.

WHATEVER elements or qualities most combine to render any popular Convention every way successful, were most felicitously blended in the gathering last week in Washington. In numbers, interest, earnestness, variety and especially ability, there was surely little left to be desired.

As to numbers in attendance, from Maine and from California and all the way between, it is sufficient to say that although the first session was most encouragingly full, there was constant increase till the last evening, when the spacious hall was crowded in every part, until entrance was absolutely impossible, long before people ceased coming.

Of the interest in the proceedings, it may be said that it was proposed to hold three sessions each day, with a brief recess at noon. But twelve o'clock and all o'clock were forgotten, and the day session continued until after four; the only regret seeming then to be that there were not more hours, and that human nature had not greater power of endurance.

The talent and variety enlisted, will be understood when it is told that Senator Pomeroy of Kansas opened the deliberations as temporary chairman, with a most able and earnest address, covering all the main constitutional and legal points in issue on the questions to be considered; followed by Mrs. Lucretia Mott, who was subsequently elected President of the Convention; succeeded as the meetings advanced, by Mrs. Stanton of THE REVOLUTION, Mrs. Griffing and Miss Clara Barton of Washington, Mrs. Wright and Susan B. Anthony of New York, Mr. Edward M. Davis and Mr. Robert Purvis of Pennsylvania, Dr. Charles Purvis, Mr. and Mrs. Stebbins, Mr. Wilcox, Mrs. Julia Archibald, Col. Hinton and Mr. George T. Downing of Washington, Mrs. Starrett, Dr. Root and Mrs. Archibald of Kansas, Mr. Wolff

of Colorado, Mrs. Kingsbury of Vineland, New Jersey, Mrs. Dr. Hathaway of Massachusetts, Mrs. Miner of Missouri, and others, too numerous, but not too unimportant to name.

The harmony that prevailed was all that could reasonably have been expected (if not even desired), considering the nature of the questions in hand, and the large number and variety of opinions entertained and expressed in the different sessions. On the one vital point, that suffrage is the inalienable right of every intelligent citizen who is held amenable to law, and is taxed to support the government, there was no difference expressed. One issue, not likely ever to become very practical was raised, and that was whether the colored man should be kept out of the right of suffrage, until women could also share it. One young, but not ineffectual, speaker declared he considered the women the bitterest enemies of the negro; and asked, with intense emotion, shall they be permitted to prevent the colored man from obtaining his rights? But it was not shown that women, any where, were making any effort to that result. One or two women present declared they were unwilling that any more men should possess the right of suffrage until women had it also. But these are well-known as most earnest advocates of universal suffrage, as well as the long-tried and approved friends of the colored race.

The danger of compromising the rights of one class for the sake of another, equally competent and deserving to enjoy them, was urged by several speakers with much, but not too much, force. It was held on the one hand that this is the "negro's hour," and on the other that it was the hour for all the disfranchised alike, and for woman, pre-eminently, inasmuch as the colored man, in all the old slave states, is now a full citizen, voting and voted for, and eligible to the highest offices in the gift of the nation. And moreover, in some places, north and south, was found among the sternest opponents of the equal right of woman. It was contended that the only way to secure the right of the ballot to the colored man, where it is enjoyed, or to obtain it where it is not, is to demand it as a natural and inalienable right, like that to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that in treating with parties, or with governments, we can never expect to obtain all we ask. That abolitionists trampling down all compromising and temporizing, asked for immediate, unconditional and entire emancipation, without compensation to the master, or expatriation of the slave, in the name of justice, for the sake of humanity, and according to the laws of the living God: that only those stern, puritanic doctrines survived the tests of time, the temptations and trammels of sect and of party; all who swerved from them for any cause, and sought to build on any lower or less solid foundations, soon ceasing wholly from the sublime conflict, and becoming not unfrequently the worst foes of the righteous cause. It was shown, too, that the "Woman Question," then as now, became the first stone of stumbling and rock of offence, dividing the anti-slavery host asunder, until most of the church members and ministers in it at once abandoned it altogether, or by a few rival but ineffective new organizations, state or national, lingered in feebleness a few years, and then disappeared altogether. So it was held that now our only safety for what we have obtained is in keeping to the same stern, unbending demand, on the basis of conscience, of justice and right, instead of compromise, and that

pre-eminently is this our one, sole assurance of future success, and final triumph. And above all, now that the claim of woman has reached the floor of both Houses of Congress, and Senators Pomeroy and Wilson have boldly and nobly asserted, and are defending it, and Hon. Geo. W. Julian, transcending all the rest, has demanded that the Federal Constitution shall be purged of the mean, narrow, unworthy, cowardly Fourteenth Amendment, and the right of Suffrage made sacred and secure to every citizen, without distinction of race, color, property or sex; and while the late colored convention in Washington, overcame its prejudices so far as to admit women to membership, and to honorably elect them to office in the body, as well as to permit them to participate in its deliberations, for the friends, the oldest friends, and best approved of the cause, now to be faltering, or temporizing, or claiming that now is the hour for any one class of the disfranchised, and that other classes must wait yet longer, was to tempt the overruling, ever-helping Providence, and to peril and postpone our holy enterprise for a time, if not forever!

That there were representatives of both political parties present, was very apparent, and sometimes forms of expression betrayed a little unnecessary partisan preference; but there was not one who bore any part in the long and intensely exciting discussions, who could be justly charged with any wish, however remote, to hold personal prejudice or party preference above principle and religious regard to justice and right.

On the whole, the Convention was declared by residents in Washington, the most important and the most promising in its results, as well as most spirited and every way interesting, and the fullest attended, of any gathering of the kind, that ever assembled in the National Capital.

The principal topics of consideration and action can be gathered from the resolutions appended to this hasty sketch of the proceedings, all of which were adopted, with the greatest unanimity.

Resolved, That we congratulate the disfranchised classes of our country that their long withheld rights are now the great theme of thought, conversation and discussion, throughout the civilized world: that thrones, parliaments, and legislatures, the press, the platform and the pulpit are earnestly considering, if not conceding them; and we most heartily rejoice with these classes, thus so long proscribed, that in this one auspicious sign of the times, we see assurance that the day of their admission to full equality as citizens is near at hand.

Resolved, That this Convention denounces the proposition now pending in Congress to abolish the elective government in the District of Columbia, as it tends to make disfranchisement of the 25,000 women of the District perpetual.

Resolved, That we deplore and deprecate the action of any association or convention, whether of abolitionists, of colored men, or of women, who demand suffrage only for a single class to the exclusion of others equally entitled to it; confidently believing that in our doctrine of equal and impartial liberty for all citizens, depends the safety, peace, and perpetuity of the government and nation.

Resolved, That if the assertion that the ignorant should not legislate for the intelligent means anything that is true, it means that ignorant men should not legislate for intelligent women.

Resolved, That a man's government is worse than a white man's government, because, in proportion as you increase the tyrants, you make the condition of the disfranchised class more hopeless and degraded.

This was disapproved and the following presented as a substitute, and after discussion adopted:

Resolved, That the privilege to cast a ballot—saying

who shall govern us is an individual right not restricted by the color or sex of the individual—is one which cannot justly be withheld on the plea that another individual is unjustly denied the same; that it is the duty of honest, consistent lovers of justice to urge the securing of that right, ignoring sex and color, even though they be disfranchised themselves.

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to the friends of equal suffrage in all the states to call a convention at their respective capitals during the sessions of their Legislatures, and that committees be appointed to memorialize those bodies on the subject of impartial suffrage alike for men and women, and that as far as possible able and earnest women, as well as others, obtain a hearing before them, to urge the necessity and justice of their claim.

Resolved, That in demanding the ballot for the disfranchised classes, we do not overlook the logical fact of their right to be voted for; and we know no reason why a colored man should be excluded from a seat in Congress, or any woman either, who possesses the suitable capabilities and who has been duly elected.

Resolved, That we demand of the government, and of the public sentiment also, that women and colored people shall have the right to choose their own occupations, and be paid always equally with white men for equal work.

Resolved, That governments among men have hitherto signally failed, their history being but a series of revolutions, bloodshed, and desolation.

Resolved, That a democracy based on a republicanism which proscribes and disfranchises one-half the citizens for their sex, and another large proportion for their color, is a contradiction in terms, more offensive and harder to be borne than despotism itself, under its true name, and vastly more dangerous by its seductive influence, to human well-being.

Resolved, That we demand, as the only assurance of national perpetuity and peace, as well as a measure of justice and right, that in the reconstruction of the government suffrage shall be based on loyalty and intelligence, and nowhere be limited by odious distinctions on account of race, color, property or sex.

F. F.

ROTTENNESS REVEALED AND REVEALING.

MR. WASHBURNE of Illinois, and Mr. Ela of New Hampshire, have taken off their coats, rolled up their sleeves and gone to work in good earnest to expose the swindling and general rascality now in perpetration by a corrupt and cankered Congress as accomplices with some of the most daring and unscrupulous marauders who ever endangered or overthrew a government. It seems that Congress has no less than eighteen Pacific railroad bills before them, and resolutions and petitions without number. During this Congress there have been 121 bills and resolutions offered in relation to Pacific railroad projects. To the Pacific roads now building bonds have already been issued amounting to \$49,457,000; the subsidies asked for by pending bills would amount to two or three times as much. The lands already granted to these roads, it is said, cover over 124,000,000 acres; the additional amounts asked for aggregate at least 400,000,000 acres, or more than one-fourth of all the remaining public lands. Mr. Washburne sets down the grand aggregate of railroad land grants from Congress during the period indicated at 185,000,000 acres, which, at the lowest price of the public lands, is equal to \$231,000,000. The area of the lands thus squandered is equal to that of all the states east of the Alleghanies from Maine to Virginia, inclusive—a great empire in itself. The lands granted to the Pacific railroads alone are nearly equal to the area of France. As to the subsidies in bonds (in addition to the empire of lands) so far actually granted, the Secretary of the Treasury reports them:

Total subsidies in bonds.....	\$44,337,000
To the Union Pacific Railroad, 820 miles.....	20,233,000
Central Pacific from California, 390 miles.....	14,764,000

Union Pacific, Eastern Division, 394 miles....	6,303,000
St. Louis City and Pacific, 69 miles.....	11,112,000

And so on till the aggregate, exceeding fifty-one millions is reached.

Mr. Ela, of New Hampshire, is doing good, yeoman service in another direction. The following resolution, presented by him, stirred up a hornet's nest of most formidable character:

Resolved, That the Committee on Printing be directed to investigate the stationery contract of the Interior Department, and what articles have been furnished as stationery, and the manner in which stationery supplies have been furnished, and whether any articles have been procured in violation of law; and if so, to what amount, and by whose order, and whether any have been paid for and not furnished; and that the Secretary be directed to suspend all further payments for stationery until further action by the House.

Mr. Ela has both pluck and persistency, and with all, a spice of old fashioned honor and honesty, and thieves and rogues proved and known to be such, could not fall into much worse hands.

In explanation of his resolution Mr. Ela made the following remarkable statements:

Mr. Speaker, I will state briefly the object I have in view in offering that resolution this morning. In the Department of the Interior there have been contracts and purchases in the same space of thirteen months to the amount of \$18,000, made in direct violation of law, because the law provides that printing, binding, and blank books ordered by the Senate and House of Representatives, or by the executive or judicial departments shall be ordered to be done at the Public Printing Office. I hold in my hand a sample of books which have been purchased by that department at a cost of twenty-five dollars each. It is a simple index book of twelve sheets of foolscap paper, with a printed index alphabet. I am also informed that the Department has purchased one hundred and forty thousand tag cards at forty dollars a thousand, of which one hundred thousand cannot be accounted for. A large number of patent heads, such as the one I exhibit, has been furnished at fourteen dollars a thousand, which are now furnished at twenty-five dollars a thousand.

There is also pending before that Department an account, which this resolution proposes to defeat, with an order of the Secretary of the Interior to pay it, for three hundred thousand sheets of bond paper at eight cents a sheet. I have before me the sworn statement of the acting Commissioner of Patents, made last July, that he had never made any such contract while he was acting as Commissioner. I have also his further statement, as follows: "While acting as Commissioner I have bought and paid for three hundred and fifty thousand sheets of bond paper, and I have never ordered or received any other paper."

Now, I understand that a committee appointed for the purpose of investigating into the contracts for supplying the Patent Office with stationery has come to the conclusion that that bond paper ought to be paid for, "when the acting Commissioner declares under oath that he had never ordered it or contracted for it." Upon that report the Commissioner of Patents has been ordered to pay for that paper. The object of my resolution is to stop the payment for those three hundred thousand sheets of bond paper until a full investigation can be instituted into all of these matters. In the investigation before the Committee on Printing last July it was ascertained that this bond paper could be bought for thirty cents a pound or one cent a sheet. We are now asked to pay \$24,000 for paper that can be purchased for \$3,000.

BETTER PROSPECT FOR WOMEN.

THE following bill is now in the hands of the Judiciary Committee of the House of Representatives at Washington:

AN ACT to regulate the pay of persons in the employ of the United States.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That from and after the passage of this act, females in the employ of the United States shall receive the same compensation as males for the same amount and kind of labor or service performed.

GENERAL GRANT ON THE FUTURE

THE Richmond *Whig* has a Washington correspondent who writes under date January 19 as below:

The Virginia conservative committee, accompanied by several other gentlemen, from Virginia, made a second visit to General Grant this morning, also visiting President Johnson and General Schofield. Their conversation with General Grant related principally to the Virginia movement, and his remarks on the subject were in the highest degree encouraging. He seemed to desire no secrecy as to his views, but spoke out with perfect openness and freedom. I feel that no confidence is violated when I say that he "sincerely hoped this whole subject would soon be settled." He has evidently studied our Virginia affairs and fully understands the Underwood constitution. He expressed himself as being warmly in favor of striking out the disfranchising clauses of that instrument, the homestead clause and the provisions relating to county organization, which last he seems to regard as more objectionable even than the rest. He said, that if permitted to stand as a part of the constitution they would necessitate the election of negro judges, sheriffs, magistrates, clerks, commonwealth's attorneys, constables, etc., and that the condition of affairs would be so intolerable that in those localities where there is a preponderance of blacks, the whites would be compelled to remove and seek homes in other portions of the state. He expressed the wish that the proposed arrangement may be speedily carried out and indicated his confidence in such a result.

It is the frequent out-cropping of such sentiments no doubt that make our Ulysses, "The silent," the object of so many suspicions and misgivings on the part of many members of Congress, and prevent the repeal of the famous Tenure of Office bill.

As an offset to the above, the following, from the New York *World's* Washington correspondence, shows that the same delegation met a different treatment at the hands of Gen. Butler:

The committee represented that they stood for the predominant conservative sentiment of the state, and that they made, and were empowered to make, the tender of Universal Suffrage for universal amnesty in good faith; and they hoped that Gen. Butler would approve their purpose and their plan. Without committing himself to it, Gen. Butler switched off and complained that his advice from Virginia led him to believe that landed proprietors were unwilling to dispose of their land in small parcels, so as to give white and black working men a chance to buy small homes, or to obtain a title in any of the soil. He was opposed to this: thought it anti-republican, and would extend no toleration to a state where such things prevailed. Col. Baldwin simply combated this statement, saying that while land in Virginia was not disproportionately held, even the sale of it which was offered failed for want of any real capital in the state, and because affairs now consequent upon misgovernment repelled capital from the state. Gen. Butler reiterated, with emphasis, that the lands were held in vast tracts, and that proprietors refused to sell. He said that would make an Ireland of Virginia much quicker than reconstruction would. Furthermore, he believed the refusal to sell lands rose from a resolution to keep northern men from Virginia, and from bringing ideas into the state, and to keep the poor whites and the negroes paupers, and hence a manageable class. Now, he was always in favor of the rights of the working men. In 1852, in Lowell, the mill-owners placarded that men voting against them would be discharged. He retorted in a speech in behalf of the working-people, that if a single man was discharged for such a cause, all the mills would be burnt down. No man was discharged. In conclusion, Gen. Butler said that he thought Virginia had better be admitted under the constitution as it now is, and that any removal of disabilities could be made when it was seen how the state behaved herself.

"HESTER VAUGHAN AGAIN!"—The N. Y. *Express* says:

The sensation-mongers are after Hester Vaughan again. Can't they let the unfortunate woman live peacefully in her cell until Jay Cooke gets ready to pay her passage home? Her life is saved, and her future pardon secured. What more can be asked?

Is it Dean Swift who thinks it surprising with what serenity, heroism, and resignation,

we can bear the sufferings of—other folks. A change of places with Hester might possibly quicken the sensibilities of the writer of the above. Her life is not "saved," nor safe while pining in a cell month after month; and why mock her miseries with talk of "future pardon" and Mr. Jay Cooke's generosity? She may have many sins to answer for, but somebody else will be held accountable for a fearful amount on her behalf.

THE NEW YORK FRUIT GROWERS' ASSOCIATION.

THIS Club held its regular meeting January 21st, Dr. Snodgrass presiding. As before stated, this association admits to membership women as well as men, and on terms of equality. The meeting was one of great interest. Very pleasing and important suggestions regarding the usefulness of birds as insect destroyers, and concerning the importance of their preservation from raids of hunters and idle boys were advanced by Mr. Williams, Dr. and Mrs. Hallock, Mr. Carpenter, Mrs. Lyon, and others. Mr. A. J. Fuller read a paper on City Gardens, which we wish could be printed for general distribution among our city householders. Dr. Hexamer and Dr. Hallock spoke of the moral influence of gardening, even the simplest forms of window-gardening and Mrs. Shepard suggested that horticultural schools should be established near the city for women who are now crowding other avenues of labor. She also proposed that the city should buy a farm of as many acres as needful, lay out gardens for raising of fruits, etc., and erect a reformatory home where the class of outcast women who are now sent to Blackwell's Island, can be fitted as gardeners for places in the country.

"WORK FOR WOMEN."

We are glad to see the religious and secular press awaking upon this vital subject—and echoing the ideas already advanced in *THE REVOLUTION* and by the Working Woman's Association. The *Liberal Christian*, in an article under the above title, says:

Another thing that women might do to advantage is to engage in the restaurant business. It is profitable if rightly managed. Women have the taste and the tact for it. They could carry it on in a much finer way than men do. They would have a greater patronage than men do, because the public would take pleasure in patronizing them, and men take a great deal more pleasure and comfort in sitting down to dine in a place that has the air and surroundings of a home, with women to serve them, and the consciousness that their food has been prepared by women's hands, than otherwise. Were a half-dozen women of business tact and industrious habits to form a partnership and open a "Home" in this or any other city—a place where men could obtain a well-cooked dinner at a reasonable price, in a place which has the neatness and comfort and air of refinement which belong to a well-regulated dining-room—they might make a fortune for themselves and do much to keep their brothers from barbarizing; for, depend upon it, our present eating habits are not only barbarous, barbarizing too. This herding together like cattle eat, and taking our food like so much fodder, at the hands of coarse, masculine waiters, in a rough-and-tumble way, may be well for the animal man, but is killing to all that is fine and noble in us.

W. FURNEY, of Bridgeville, Ohio, has been fined \$10,000 and costs for whipping one of his scholars, who had done nothing to warrant the punishment.

What if he had deserved punishment! Is pounding and pummeling the flesh and bones the way to inflict it? The brutalities and barbarisms of the dark ages, die hard.

DEMOCRATS ON WOMAN SUFFRAGE.

IN the House of Representatives on Saturday, the Suffrage amendment was up for discussion, and Mr. Boutwell, of Massachusetts, put himself on the record in favor of its provisions. Several members participated in the debate, and among them Hon. James Brooks, of this city, who, in order to simplify matters, offered an amendment striking out the word "citizen" wherever it occurs, and substituting the word "person," and otherwise altering it so that it will read: "No state shall abridge or deny the right of any person in the United States to vote by reason of his race or her race, color, sex, nativity or age, when over twelve years."

Mr. Boutwell replied that he saw a party coming which promised to make more rapid strides than he was willing to take. He said if Mr. Brooks, Mr. Niblack, and others, would go with him in granting suffrage to all the male citizens of the country over 21 years of age, without regard to race or color, he would then listen most attentively to any argument they might make in favor of the right of women to vote.

But when asked if he would vote for it, he, as most republicans (not all) always do, evaded. The democrats, to say the least, are eminently useful in keeping republican sensibilities alive to the subject.

ORIGIN OF THE VIVANDIERE.

THE *Chicagoan*, with which we were much pleased at first sight, and which improves on acquaintance, says that Marshal Neil is about to abolish the position of vivandiere in the French army, on the ground of economy. The vivandiere is a woman, often young and pretty, attached to each battalion, to do various feminine "chores," to act as a sort of sutleress, and to be a friend, counsellor, surgeon, nurse to the men, and, at a pinch, comrade in arms. French vivandieres have often become celebrated. One called "Double Breton" killed a Russian Captain and captured six Prussians at Eylau, taking them bodily before the "Little Corporal," and was finally badly wounded at Waterloo. Another, Therese Jourdan, was in action in fifteen or twenty battles. Several of these vivandieres received the Cross of Legion of Honor.

VERY DARK Times—"Resolved, That we demand of the government, and of public sentiment also, that women and colored people shall choose their own occupations, and be paid always equally with men for equal work." This is one of the resolutions passed by the National Woman's Rights Convention, which yesterday adjourned its sessions in Washington. Would it not be better to demand that government shall choose occupations for the women and colored people who can pass such foolish resolutions.

The *N. Y. Times* probably intended something by its hyper-criticism, but it is difficult to see what. In a country where law or public opinion limits the occupations of women and colored people to comparatively few callings, and those often the least productive, and frequently only pays them half or two-thirds the prices given to white male citizens for equal, and often better work, if the proscribed did not complain, rebel, as well as *Resolutionize*, it surely would be well to demand "that government choose their occupations" as the *Times* suggests, and provide cots or cages in which to house them.

A late number of the London *Queen* devotes its leading editorial to a caustic review of *THE REVOLUTION*.

THE GENESIS OF REFORM.

From the Washington Sunday Morning Gazette.

To see the three chief figures of this great movement of Woman's Rights sitting upon a stage in joint council, like the three Parcae or Fates of a new dispensation—dignity and the ever-acceptable grace of scholarly earnestness, intelligence, and beneficence making them prominent—is assurance that the women of our country, bereft of defenders, or injured by false ones, have advocates equal to the great demands of their cause. There is Lucretia Mott, with a face like some pictured saint, courteous, simple, and quiet in external expression, but holding in her thoughts power to attract and instruct large audiences everywhere.

There is Susan B. Anthony, whose name is a national synonym for strength, charity, and that free, indomitable, ardent, yet decorous zeal for conviction of right which none but American women possess; her diction clear and strong, abounding in reasons torn up from the very roots of events. If she be the Atropos of the triad, the Lachesis, the queenly central figure, the designer and sustainer, is Mrs. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, our representative woman in fullest sense. Born of a patriotic and influential race; endowed with a brain wide, full and even, and soul capacious and sensitive; since youth, the sincerest and most potential friend of her sex, and advocate of her just rights and true elevation, she is, at the same time, her most powerful pleader in her own person's representation, and proof of the possibility of woman's free exercise of gifts equal to that of man, abating not one item of delicate breeding. Adding grace to strength in every motion—earnest, able and elegant always—she commands by her presence the attention and respect which her speech holds unwearied. Thought and reflection have taught her philosophy, and a rare power of ratiocination appears in her statements and propositions. With a voice not loud, but full, rich, and clear, with none but natural gestures, Mrs. Stanton stands before you a matron most royal in her womanly dignity and earnestness, rebuking wrongs and weaknesses and follies as though with those noble features and silver puffs of abundant hair some honored dame of Colonial times had descended from a golden picture frame, an evangel of reform, a femina worthy to be *dux facti* in the full freedom of that justice she claims.

TO SUBSCRIBERS.—Western subscribers complain of loss of their papers. The California and western territorial mails have been often delayed or lost on the way, since last October. Sometimes we are told they reach San Francisco wet, with wrappers torn off and every way unrepresentable. We can only say *THE REVOLUTION* is regularly and promptly sent, and in good condition, and shall be; but we cannot command the incompetent mail-carriers, nor the incompetent government that continues such in its employ. We are glad to know that the subject has reached, at last, the ear of the Post-office Department, and that there is prospect of speedy reform.

MRS. STANTON'S ADDRESS.—The *N. Y. World* of Monday last contained the whole of Mrs. Stanton's address delivered in the Washington Convention, copied from the *Gazette* of that city. The *World* is doing much excellent service in behalf of the Woman Suffrage cause.

THE WASHINGTON SUFFRAGE CONVENTION LETTERS.

THE Convention occupies a good deal of room to-day, but its importance and success warrant it and more hereafter. As we are about ready to go to press, Mr. Willcox of Washington, one of the Secretaries, sends the following extracts from letters sent to it:

William Lloyd Garrison writes:

Unable to attend the Convention, I can only send you my warm approval of it, and the object it is designed to promote. It is boastfully claimed in behalf of the government of the United States that it is "of the people, by the people, and for the people." Yet reckoning the whole number at thirty-eight millions, no less than one-half—that is, nineteen millions—are political ciphers. A single male voter, on election day, outweighs them all!

Aaron M. Powell says:

I have no doubt that if a fair and honest vote can be had upon the question, submitted upon its own merits, in the Senate and House of Representatives, both the friends and opponents of the measure here, as in Great Britain when John Stuart Mill's proposition was first voted upon in Parliament, will be surprised at the revelation of its real strength.

Mrs. Caroline H. Dall remarks:

It mitigates my regret in declining your invitation to remember that these are not the dark days of the cause.

Senator Fowler of Tennessee observes:

It is not possible that the people that have so enlarged the boundaries of the political rights of another race just emerged from slavery, will fail to recognize the claims of the women of the United States to equal rights in all the relations of life.

Wm. H. Sylvius says:

I am in favor of universal suffrage, universal amnesty, and universal liberty.

Abby Hopper Gibbons says:

My father, Isaac T. Hopper, was an advocate for woman and her way of work, he believed in her thoroughly. His life long he was associated with many of the best women of his day. With the help of good men, we shall ere long stand side by side with ballot in hand.

Paulina Wright Davis:

If women are the only unrecognized class as a part of the people, then woe to the nation! for there will be no noble mothers; frivolity, folly and madness will seize them, for all inverted action of the faculties becomes intense in just the ratio of its earnestness.

Harriet Beecher Stowe writes:

I am deeply interested in the work, and hopeful that a broader sphere is opening for woman, that as a class they may be trained in early life more as men are in education and business.

Gen. Oliver O. Howard answers:

Please express to the Committee my thanks for the invitation. I should be pleased to accept, but a lecture engagement in the west will compel me to be absent from the city.

James M. Scovill of New Jersey says:

I deeply desire to come. Go on in your great work. The Convention tells in the public mind.

Gerrit Smith replies:

I thank you for your invitation, though it is not in my power to attend the Convention. God hasten the day when the civil and political rights of woman shall be admitted to be equal to those of man.

Simeon Corley, M.C., of South Carolina, writes:

Having been an advocate of Woman's Suffrage for a quarter of a century, I had the pleasure yesterday of enrolling my name and that of my wife on your list of delegates. To-day Hon. James H. Goess, M.C., of S. C., requested me to have you insert his name. I think you may safely count on the South Carolina delegation.

LETTER OF MRS. ROSE.

NEW YORK, Jan. 14th, 1869.

Mrs. JOSEPHINE F. GRIFFING—Dear Madam: Your favor of the 6th inst. is received. Permit me to assure

you it would give me great pleasure to be present at your important convention of the 19th; but indisposition will not allow me that gratification.

Looking at all the circumstances;—the position, the epoch and the efforts now being made to increase the right to the ballot, your Convention is perhaps the most important that was ever held. It is a true maxim, that it is easier to do justice than injustice; to do right than wrong; and to do it at once, than by small degree. How much better and easier it would have been for Congress, when they enfranchised all the men of the District of Columbia, had they included the women also; but better late than never. Let the national government, to which the states have a right to look for good example, do justice to woman now, and all the states will follow.

That woman has a right to the Franchise no reflecting man will deny. A Grecian Philosopher said, "No one owes allegiance to a government who has no hand in its formation; and no one ought to be held accountable to laws who has no voice in framing them." This noble maxim deserves to be practically followed even by this Republic. We have recognized it in theory and it is time to recognize it in practice. We have proclaimed that "Governments derive their just power from the consent of the governed;" that "All men are created equal and endowed with the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that "Taxation without representation is tyranny."

That woman is governed (good, bad or indifferent)—that she is held amenable to the laws—that she is imprisoned, punished and hung, the statistics of Washington, even, can attest; that she is directly and indirectly taxed for the support of the government, the tax and revenue lists give ample evidence. Why, then, is she deprived of a voice in the laws that hold her responsible, or the government that exacts her support? Simply because she is a woman! Justice and humanity recognizes no sex, and a government based on justice and humanity would recognize none; but would extend all the rights and privileges it could bestow to all citizens irrespective of sex, country or color.

The age at which citizens shall assume the rights and responsibilities of the franchise, and the time required for foreigners to become citizens are after considerations. But no difference ought to exist in any law regulating the franchise, or any other right, simply on account of sex.

It was a terrible mistake and a fundamental error based upon ignorance and injustice ever to have introduced the word "male" into the Federal constitution. The terms "male" and "female" simply designate the physical or animal distinction between the sexes, and ought to be used only in speaking of the lower animals. Human beings are men and women, possessed of human faculties and understanding, which we call mind; and mind recognizes no sex, therefore the term "male," as applied to human beings—to citizens—ought to be expunged from the constitution and the laws as a last reminiscence of barbarism—when the animal, not mind, when might, not right, governed the world.

Let your Convention, then, urge Congress to wipe out that purely animal distinction from the national constitution. That noble instrument was destined to govern intelligent, responsible human beings—men and women—not sex.

The childish argument that all women don't ask for the franchise would hardly deserve notice were it not sometimes used by men of sense. To all such I would say, examine ancient and modern history, yes, even of your own times, and you will find there never has been a time when all men of any country—white or black—have ever asked for a reform. Reforms have to be claimed and obtained by the few, who are in advance, for the benefit of the many who lag behind. And when once obtained and almost forced upon them, the mass of the people accept and enjoy their benefits as a matter of course.

Look at the petitions now pouring in Congress for the franchise for women, and compare their thousands of signatures with the few isolated names that graced our first petitions to the state Legislatures to secure to the married women the right to hold in her own name the property that belonged to her (viz. real estate)—to secure to the poor forsaken wife the right to her earnings, and to the mother the right to her children. "All" the women did not ask for those rights, but all accepted them with joy and gladness in the few states in which they were obtained; and now wonder how it ever could have been otherwise; and so it will be with the franchise.

But woman's claim for the ballot does not depend upon the numbers that demand it, or would exercise the right; but upon precisely the same principles that man claims for himself. Chase, Sumner, Stevens and many others of both Houses of Congress have, time after

time, declared that the franchise means "Security, Education, Responsibility, Self-respect, Prosperity and Independence." That without the ballot there was no security, no liberty. Taking all these assertions for granted and fully appreciating all their benefits, in the name of security, of education, of responsibility, of self-respect, of liberty, of prosperity and independence we demand the franchise for woman.

Please present this hastily-written little contribution to your Convention with best wishes.

Yours, dear Madam, Very truly,

ERNESTINE L. ROSE.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENCE

SELDOM in one week has so much of significant importance transpired in this city, as in the past; indeed it makes an era in the world's history.

The National Colored Men's Convention of 14th, 15th, 16th and 17th inst. has settled forever the last remains of the question of "What shall we do with the Freedman of this country?" His liberation and enfranchisement have already vested him with the outward authority to provide for and protect himself, in accordance with the demands of his own being. It was inspiring to the highest degree to see with what intelligence and fervent zeal those men, coming from nearly every state in the Union, grappled with the mightiest questions of the day, and, true to their moral convictions, stood boldly for the right. Among the delegates who came forward for recognition was a lady from Pittsburg, and although a number of those who had not thought beyond their own interests, opposed—she was declared *received* by the convention, and her name added to the list of vice-presidents of the association.

In the course of the discussions, the thinking men evinced the clearest idea of the higher civilization, when no American in this republic should lose "the benefit of a doubt," because of color, sex, provision, condition, and strongly opposed the idea of cultivating an African nationality from American blood, and on American soil, and expressed the hope that Hayti and Liberia might not be repeated. They valiantly sustained the propriety and economy of uniting in the common school, the college and the church, as well as the government, the general welfare and common destiny of all our citizens, regardless of previous classifications.

The council to conciliate the differences that exist in the new Congregational church have also, given testimony of great wisdom in the same direction, by declaring that the Church of Christ knows no color, and that it is understood by the sister churches that the *peculiar mission* of this church was to open the door to the realization of this doctrine of perfect equality. The testimony of both these intelligent bodies goes far toward the settlement of the question of races in America.

Then the meeting of Lucy Stone, which completed a trinity of subjects, on Friday evening, was not less wonderful, in point of intelligence and wisdom exhibited by the speakers—showing clearly the folly of spending time and money with the hope of perfecting a nation or a church—with women left out. Her statements, clear and undeniable, were thoroughly sustained in an earnest and womanly style, which left no room for a hope, even, that anything except prompt and earnest justice will satisfy the demand of the women of this country, or bring peace and prosperity to the nation.

And lastly came the "reserved force" of Lucretia Mott, that, like a "right wing," sustained and covered all the rest. In the Uni-

tarian church, with no Sacerdotal robe, to an immense audience, breathless with intelligent listening, she brought out of the treasures of her own soul "things new and old." If to some of her hearers she fell short of a pure orthodoxy, her heresies were good for practical digestion, and *all*, we have no doubt, went away wiser and better than they came.

With a week of such exercises, preliminary to the Woman's Convention of the 19th and 20th, we hope and believe that then the cause of Equal Rights to all American citizens, and to all the inhabitants of the earth, will be so launched that the question of whether women are in earnest to exercise the rights and assume the duties of voters of the republic may appear so clear that "the wayfaring man, though a fool, need not err" therein.

In haste, J. S. GRIFFING.

ELOQUENCE AND EMPTY BENCHES.

I BELIEVE it is generally admitted that Christopher Columbus is dead—that he has been dead for several years—I think it was so stated in the school books when I was a child. In fact, in the "Life of Columbus," written by one Washington Irving, he is spoken of at considerable length as an individual who contributed in his time a valuable tract of land to mankind; but he always speaks of him as *decidedly dead*, and with a whole continent by way of monument to his usefulness.

Such being the popular opinion, although Dr. Chapin don't appear to agree with it, it is not surprising perhaps, that the number of individuals recently assembled in the large hall of the Cooper Institute to learn from him "that the 15th day of March in the year 1493 was one of excitement and interest in the little port of Palos in Andalusia," by reason of the return of that "Ancient Mariner" to his family and friends, should be "very small." (I quote the papers.) A few weeks prior to this last resurrection of Columbus, George William Curtis delivered in the same hall a lecture on *Political Morality* to an audience also *very small*; and this was followed by *bursts of eloquence* from orators such as Bryant, Beecher, Bellows, Crosby, Mayor Hall and Ex-Lieut. Gov. Woodford, delivered, all and singular, to an inspiring series of *empty seats*.

Why is this? The ability of most of these gentlemen to interest large audiences has been many times proved. The cause, therefore, must be sought for either in the *object* of the meeting, or in the *subject* chosen by the orator, and a search for it, may yield some practical hints not without value to all parties. Take the first failure—that of Mr. Curtis. The Young Men's Christian Association wanted funds for a purpose of supposed interest to itself. The scheme, however good, could not succeed on its own merits; so a public meeting, and an eloquent speaker must be had. They *were* had; and when they came together it was easy to see that neither had the least business with the other. There was no common attraction between them. The *object* of the meeting was purely local, and the *subject* of the orator was wholly foreign to it. They both failed. They ought to fail. A cause which lacks the vitality to inspire an orator invited to speak in its behalf, is undeserving a public meeting. Mr. Curtis must have thought, if he did not say to the committee who had in charge the budding zeal of these young Christian gentlemen—"Whether or not you establish a chapel of ease for the accommo-

dation of your friends in the upper wards, is of no vital importance, it may be presumed, to the world at large. Your object, therefore, considered as a topic, suggests a depth of insignificance, to the level of which I cannot descend just now; but the *political scoundrels* who have infested this planet from age to age, and are particularly rampant at the present time, have had my thoughtful attention, and my opinion thereof and thereupon is embodied in a lecture *which is at your service*." It was accepted. Not for the theme, however, but for the *popularity* of its author. The result was natural rather than satisfactory.

Next came the Cretan failure—a splendid flourish of trumpets and nobody to hear the music—at least *very few*—and some of these were amused rather than edified by certain discordant notes existing between the published book and the uttered speech of one of the clerical orators. The learned gentleman in his book, wrote the Turks up, and in his speech put them down again; but as the discord arose merely from a habit he has of forgetting to-day what he said yesterday, and as it did but neutralize itself, we may pass it by and fix our attention more particularly upon the focalization of the harmony. It clustered around the important fact that "South America, Europe, Asia" (and perhaps Africa, though nobody said so), "*ought to be free*." And moreover, that Crete, once emancipated, places Christianity "*within two days sail* of that blessed, sacred land, pressed by the sacred feet of our Lord and Saviour, now a howling waste and wilderness" (which, unfortunately, has left "the foot-prints" entirely to the imagination of the Christian Pilgrim), "*with no road through it except that which the French have made from Beyrout to Damascus*."

How important all this, compared with the issues to be met here and now, let the size of the audience indicate. At the very time that these chieftains of speech were firing their benevolence at a long range, hitting nothing and nobody, there was convened directly over their heads, a company of "working women," deliberating, not only upon their right to the political freedom which they have not, but upon means to secure their bread! And these were not Cretans, four thousand miles away; and the subjects of a political power over which we have no control, but Christians nevertheless, and *here in New York*; with their political rights denied them by a form of government in which these gentlemen have a voice potential. As I construe the logic of the empty seats which flung back their windy speeches, it is that they "first pull the beam out of the eye" of our own government before they take up the profession of oculists for other nations.

And now, do not "the signs of the"—empty benches—indicate that it is about time for Dr. Chapin to bury Christopher Columbus? Or is death alone, as in the case of Edward Everett with Washington, to end the endless repetition? John Hampden, Christopher Columbus—these are themes concerning which every school-boy may know as much as the most learned Divine in the land, while all about us lie problems awaiting solution; problems which will not always wait, problems which will resolve us back to anarchy and chaos, and that right speedily, if we resolve not them. Is Dr. Chapin incompetent to grapple with them, or is he afraid of hurting somebody, that, as a lecturer, outside of his church, he first ran John Hampden for about ten years, and now bids fair to do Christopher Columbus to the end of his days?

THE EIGHT HOUR SYSTEM.—On trial, it seems not always to work satisfactorily. It was intended as an *increase of wages*, but passed under another name. Employers are disposed to pay only for the labor done, without regard to the time required to do it, and so the ten hour system is to be resumed at the Springfield armory, as the workmen do not like to sacrifice one-fifth of their pay to help on "reform" which to them is really no reform. Labor does not yet feel the power, the crushing power of capital, whether held by government or individuals, as it one day will.

In the Kansas Legislature, a resolution to allow negroes the right to vote was indefinitely postponed. The only safety for the colored man is to take the women along with him.

LITERARY.

THE EXCELSTON MONTHLY MAGAZINE: Olmsted & Welwood, publishers, Sun Building, New York. \$2.50 per year.

THE AMERICAN LAW REVIEW: Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

The January number contains a number of articles of interest. The articles on the "Enfranchisement of the Insane" and "Government Loans," are either of them worth the price of the Quarterly—\$5 yearly. \$1.25 single numbers.

THE NURSERY. "A Magazine for the Youngest Readers." John L. Shorey, No. 13 Washington street, Boston. \$1.50 per year.

Every house should have this little monthly for the little ones just learning to read. It is the best child's paper ever yet published.

HOW TO TREAT THE SICK WITHOUT MEDICINE: James C. Jackson, M.D. Published by Austin, Jackson & Co., Danville, New York.

An admirable treatise, explaining the Psycho-Hygenic method of curing disease. So lucidly written that any nurse or mother can carry out its directions.

THE CATHOLIC WORLD: Catholic Publication Society, 126 Nassau street, New York

Has a fair and excellent review of the late Protestant Episcopal Convention. It prognosticates the division of the Episcopal church, one part going with their master spirit Dix over to Rome, and the other, of which Tyng is the leader, remaining on the side of Protestantism.

MARY ELDA WILSON, who killed Frank Stanley, in Marion county, Ind., has been convicted of manslaughter, and sentenced to six months imprisonment.

THE BENEDICT TIME WATCH.

THE enterprising firm of Benedict Brothers have now ready at their "up-town" establishment, 691 Broadway, an extensive and elegant assortment of Gold and Silver Watches for the Fall trade of 1863, to which they invite the attention of the readers of "THE REVOLUTION" and all others who desire a perfect TIME-KEEPER. Their stock comprises the various grades of the American Waltham and the choicest imported watches. They have also, in addition, a fine quality of watch which they have named the "Benedict Time Watch," they having the supervision of the manufacture of the movements, which are of nickel, which has proved to be a metal more durable than brass or other compound metals, and less liable to contraction or expansion by the fluctuating character of the temperature of this climate. This movement gives greater accuracy and requires less repairs than the others. Their stock of American Watches is unrivalled. All the various grades may be found at their counters at the lowest prices, regulated and in every respect warranted. The Messrs Benedict Brothers have secured their reputation and extensive patronage by a strictly honorable course in conducting their business, selling the best of goods at fair prices. We feel safe in commending this establishment to the consideration of our readers, and would say to all, if you want a good, reliable Watch, go to Benedict Brothers, up town, 691 Broadway.

Financial Department.

THE REVOLUTION.

VOL. III.—NO. 4.

CONGRESS AND ITS FINANCIAL LEGISLATION.

THE contrast between the action of the people of the United States and their so-called representatives at Washington is striking, and by no means flattering to the latter. The people are working out perseveringly and vigorously, in a practical form, the problem of progress, by raising increased crops in the Southern and other states, and by pushing ahead in building new railroads and communications, while their representatives at Washington are frittering away their time in buncombe legislation, or scrambling for plunder among the peoples' money.

One of the recent financial measures proposed in congress is a fair type of the whole. It proposes to do away with the present law requiring the National Banks to make a report of their condition on the first Monday in every quarter, by substituting therefor, that the Comptroller shall call upon any bank or banks for the report of their condition *on any past date, to be named by him at his discretion.*

The objections to this change in the law are, that it does not give the people that information in regard to the National Banks, which is necessary, in order to form a correct opinion on the soundness of the banks which hold their deposits, or as to the present and future course of the money market. What the people do want and ought to have, are reports by all the National Banks, at least once in every week, of their precise condition in every item, on a certain fixed day at the close of that day's business, with the averages also for the week.

In fact, the people ought to have this information every day, just as the Assistant Treasury furnishes its items every day. The enactment of an act of Congress with these requirements would keep the banks from unduly expanding or contracting, and would keep the public thoroughly informed as to their movements and probable condition, besides furnishing something like a reliable basis on which to form an intelligent opinion as to the probable course of the money market in the future, and at different seasons of the year. At present the currency and bank movements are unknown to the public, or indeed to any one else. The people of the United States are kept in absolute ignorance in regard to these currency and bank matters, which directly act upon and influence not only our money markets, but to a very great extent, the prices of all marketable property. So well is this understood in Europe that the great controlling banks of England and France are compelled by law to publish their condition at the close of a certain day in every week. Every bank in the country makes up or ought to make up at the close of every day in the year, all the items that the Bank of England and France publish or the public need, therefore all the additional labor required from them by the publication of daily statements would be about ten minutes work of a single clerk to copy the totals from their books.

The fact of the money market being squeezed every three months by the banks preparing to make their quarterly reports in accordance with

the existing law, is evidence that the law has been violated by them during the period of time of which they make no report, because if their business was conducted all the time as it should be in accordance with the Act of Congress, then no preparation would be necessary for the quarterly reports, and no squeeze in the money market could result therefrom. The quarterly bank squeeze shows conclusively that the banks are doing what they ought not to do in direct violation of law at least fifty-one weeks out of the fifty-two contained in each year. How this is to be remedied by authorizing the Comptroller to call for reports *at some past date at his discretion*, is not clear to any person possessed of common sense or knowledge of ordinary business routine.

Furthermore, with a "facile," not to say corrupt, Comptroller, how admirably adapted the proposed Act of Congress is for creating a fortune annually for the happy Comptroller who can by Act of Congress legally fix the date for the bank reports to suit the exigencies of the bank managers! Sixteen hundred National banks, black-mailed \$10,000 each per annum, for the privilege of having a day to suit them named for their reports, would net the happy namer of the day the snug sum of \$16,000,000 per annum, \$5,000 each would net \$8,000,000, and \$1,000 each would net not the bad thing for a Comptroller, in addition to his salary, of \$1,691,000 per annum.

The bill, in fact, is the product of the grossest ignorance, or the grossest corruption, and the amazement is that the press generally approve of this Congressional monstrosity, which would place in the hands of one man, the irresponsible power to rob and injure the people to a greater extent than that of the whiskey or any other thieving ring of professional political scoundrels.

GEN. BUTLER'S FINANCIAL POLICY.

Editors of the Revolution:

You will observe that the bills to be issued under Gen. B. F. Butler's proposed system are based upon gold to more than seven times the amount of the bills of the present national banks. Those banks, by the present law, pay five dollars a year for the use of each thousand dollars, whereas his system will compel the payment in gold of \$36½ for each \$1,000 for a year. Had the rate been placed at \$73 in gold for each \$1,000 no one would take it and mortgage his bonds with ten per cent. margin, except for short periods during a money stringency. Gen. Butler would undoubtedly have placed the rate lower than he did, but conceded something to the prejudices of the community, something to have an easy calculated interest, and something to increase the probabilities of its being accepted. The injustice of the present system is as patent to the student of political economy, as it would be to charge a rich man five cents and a poor man seventy cents to cross a ferry or ride in a horse-car. A short time ago a gentleman of this city applied to several banks to loan him for four months a thousand dollars, he offering to give the same security of government bonds with the same margin of ten per cent., which the banks furnish when they borrow of the government. Although he offered to furnish besides a good note and to pay at the rate of ninety dollars a year for what the government charges the banks only five dollars, he could not obtain the money. Even this is not as bad as the horrible system in England, which, as I showed in THE REVOLUTION of Dec. 31st, 1868,

loans to the wealthy for nothing and without limit, except the extent to which they may be able to change their other property into bullion. Under such a system it is no wonder that one million out of twenty millions of the inhabitants, or one person out of twenty in England and Wales to-day are paupers. Contrast this with Massachusetts, even under our imperfect system, where the deposits in savings banks have increased twenty-six million out of the ninety-four million dollars of deposits, within the last two years. Truth is mighty and must prevail.

Respectfully yours,
H. N. STONE.
Boston, Mass., Jan. 22d, 1869.

FINANCE—LARGE PROFITS OF TRADE.

I AM glad to see THE REVOLUTION discussing boldly the matter of our Financial system. It is the strongest weapon in the hands of commerce, to which civilized society is as much a slave to-day as ever the serfs of the middle ages were to the Feudal system. Then society was enslaved by its superstitious reverence for the divine right of rulers, and the task to free itself seemed superhuman, until men found by combination, that their dreaded tyrant obtained his power only from their cowardice. The industry of the civilized world is to-day the slave of money, as in the middle ages it was of the sword; and now, as then, labor fashions and creates the weapons used for its own subjection. Now, as then, it only depends upon the people to know and use their power to free themselves. The difficulty now, as then, is want of combination.

It is hard to make men tho roughly aware that this is the case. Let us examine one point, however, and from the principle we may discover here, we may see how certain the remedy would be. Finance, politics, statesmanship, philanthropy, religion, society, every human interest have now, in this nineteenth century, to stand the test of universal ideas, before their theories or systems can receive universal assent.

The explanation of the causes of commercial convulsions, which are, and must be, periodic and chronic in our present system, will show us how false our whole system is. A Western farmer raises a barrel of flour. That flour is so much wealth produced, and no one can be made richer by it, than by a barrel of flour. He, however, sells it for, say, ten dollars to B. B for twelve dollars to C, who in his turn sells it for fifteen dollars to D who sells it again for twenty dollars to E. Here then it seems to B, C and D that there is ten dollars profit to be divided among them, but no other wealth with which to settle their debts, than the original barrel, has been produced. This profit, therefore, must exist in their hands only as credit of some kind or other. As long as this credit remains good, and will circulate, times are said to be prosperous, business is good, etc. When, however, the time for settlement comes, then it is found that there is no real wealth which can pay these debts, and we have a commercial panic, and the farmer, who created the original barrel of flour is fortunate if he finds that the traders who have been snapping it about have not managed to cheat him out of the original value of it.

The remedy for this is evidently here. Let the farmer sell his barrel of flour to E, who is a consumer, and also a producer; or let them exchange products with each other.

How can this be done? It can't be done as long as our own entire financial and banking system is conceived and carried on in the interest of Messrs. B, C, and D. But let the farmer and E—that is the producers—once combine to exchange their products directly, and as they create all the wealth which forms the basis of all the credit, and all the money, which the commercial and banking class have managed to get control of, they will find that the matter is easy enough. All that is wanting is that the producers should see this and act upon it; and the only way to make them do this is to repeat it without ceasing, and in every way, until the adage of line upon line and precept upon precept shall have justified itself.

E. H.

ASTORIA, L. I., New York, }
Jan. 18th, 1869. }

Editors of the Revolution:

In further defense of my views on the constitutional powers of Congress over the subject of money (which have been assailed in your paper of the 14th inst.), permit me to question the accuracy of the argument made use of in Kellogg's Monetary System, in the following passage:

Ext. from the Const., Sec. XI, "No State shall coin money, emit bills of credit, make anything but gold and silver a tender in payment of debts."

Mr. Kellogg comments on this as follows: "It is clear that Congress has the constitutional right to coin money and regulate its value, to emit bills of credit, and to make anything it chooses a tender in payment of debts." I admit two of the assertions to be correct; the right to coin money and regulate its value, and to emit bills of credit is granted to Congress and vested solely in Congress by the constitution, and cannot be disputed: but, when it is added, "that Congress has the right to make anything it chooses a tender in payment for debts," I assert that such authority is not granted to Congress. To say that the power of the states over that question is limited to the precious metals, and therefore Congress has full power over it, is false reasoning; for, though the constitution declares that "the powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution, are reserved to the states respectively or to the people," it by no means follows that powers forbidden to the states are reserved to the United States.

According to the constitution, the right to coin money and regulate its value is vested in Congress, but the right to make it a tender in payment of debts (properly restricted to the precious metals) is vested in the states respectively.

Under this view, although, as Mr. Maguire states, Congress can stamp one or ten dollars if it pleases on a piece of iron, neither it nor the states can make such an issue "constitutionally" a tender in payment for debts.

Without disputing Mr. Maguire's assertion—"that cast Mexican and Spanish dollars are not coined money," and respectfully suggesting that his difficulty in the argument is to prove that greenbacks are; for, if they be not—where, under the constitution, did Congress derive the authority to make any other kind of money; and, as they are not composed of the precious metals, where is the constitutional authority by which such papers are made tenders for debts?

Respectfully yours, E. W. H.

THE MONEY MARKET

was easy at the close of the week at 6 to 7 per cent., with exceptional transactions at 5 per cent. The weekly bank statement is again favorable. The loans are increased \$2,615,788; deposits, \$1,616,320; and legal tenders, \$1,095,036. The specie is decreased \$394,339, and the circulation \$13,207.

The following table shows the changes in the New York city banks this week compared with the preceding week:

	Jan. 16.	Jan. 23.	Differences.
Loans,	\$263,338,831	\$264,954,619	Inc. \$2,615,788
Specie,	29,258,536	28,864,197	Dec. 394,339
Circulation,	34,277,153	34,265,946	Dec. 13,207
Deposits,	195,484,843	197,101,163	Inc. 1,616,320
Legal-tenders,	52,927,083	54,022,119	Inc. 1,095,036

THE GOLD MARKET

was strong at the close of Saturday, advancing to 136½ to 136¾.

The fluctuations in the gold market for the week were as follows:

	Opening.	Highest.	Lowest.	Closing.
Monday, Jan. 18,	136½	136½	135½	136
Tuesday, 19,	135½	135½	135½	135½
Wednesday, 20,	135½	135½	135½	135½
Thursday, 21,	135½	135½	135½	135½
Friday, 22,	135½	135½	135½	135½
Saturday, 23,	136	136½	135½	136½

THE FOREIGN EXCHANGE MARKET

closed firm on Saturday, at 109½ to 109¾ for prime bankers 60 days sterling bills, and 110½ to 110¾ for sight. Francs on Paris bankers long 5.16¼ to 5.15, and short 5.13¼ to 5.12¼.

THE RAILWAY SHARE MARKET

was active and buoyant, the leading stocks being Michigan Southern, Ohio & Mississippi, Reading, Toledo, Fort Wayne and Pacific Mail.

The following are the closing quotations:

Cumberland, 37 to 38; W., F. & Co. Ex. 25½ to 27; American Express, 42½ to 46; Adams Express, 59½ to 59¾; United States Express, 52 to 53; Merchants' Union Express, 17½ to 17¾; Quicksilver, 25½ to 26; Canton, 59½ to 60; Pacific Mail, 119½ to 120; Mariposa, 7 to 10; Mariposa preferred, 24½ to 25; Western Union Telegraph, 36½ to 36¾; N. Y. Central, 165½ to 165¾; Erie, 38½ to 38¾; Erie preferred, 63½ to 64½; Hudson River, 130 to 130½; Reading, 96½ to 96¾; Tol. & Wabash, 62½ to 62¾; Toledo & Wabash preferred, 75½ to 77; Mil. & St. Paul, 73½ to 74; Mil. & St. Paul preferred, 94½ to 95; Fort Wayne, 122½ to 123; Ohio & Miss., 36½ to 37; Michigan Central, 118 to 118½; Mich. Southern, exd. 93½ to 93¾; Illinois Central, 138½ to 139½; Cleve. & Pitts., 92½ to 92¾; C. & Toledo, 105½ to 106; Rock Island, 133 to 133½; N. Western, 82½ to 83; N. Western preferred, 88½ to 89½; Boston W. P., 15½ to 16; Boston H. & E., 28.

UNITED STATES SECURITIES

were active and strong, with a good demand for registered bonds, and those of small denominations.

Fisk & Hatch, 5 Nassau street, report the following quotations:

United States sixes, Pacific Railroad, 101 to 101½; United States sixes, 1881, registered, 111½ to 111¾; United States sixes, coupon, 112½ to 112¾; United States five-twenties, registered, 108½ to 109; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1862, 113½ to 113¾; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1864, 109½ to 109¾; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1865, 110½ to 110¾; United States five-twenties, coupon, new, 1865, 108½ to 108¾; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1867, 108½ to 108¾; United States five-twenties, coupon, 1868, 109 to 109½; United States ten-forties, registered, 105 to 105½; United States ten-forties, coupon, 107½ to 108.

THE CUSTOM DUTIES

for the week were \$2,614,684 in gold against \$2,524,504 \$1,965,000 and \$1,360,000 for the preceding weeks. The imports of merchandise for the week were \$6,070,336 in gold against \$6,248,338, \$3,537,413, and \$3,184,959 for the preceding weeks. The exports, exclusive of specie, for the week were \$2,688,096 in currency against \$3,376,680, \$1,926,240, and \$3,023,509 for the preceding weeks. The exports of specie were \$1,100,141 against \$405,700, \$645,628, and \$222,815 for the preceding weeks.

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